

ISSUE # 24 Bi-Monthly Magazine April 2006

# **ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW**

We are all imprisoned  
in the cycle  
of crime and punishment

**BREAK FREE!!**

**Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe**



There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over the borders we have created ...

## “ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW” AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL FROM EASTERN EUROPE

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and its effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself, as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...



### AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly magazine with information on different political and cultural processes and activities in Eastern Europe seen, commented on and analysed from an anarchist perspective.

### EDITORIAL TEAM & ABB COLLECTIVE

ABB is an international collective of migrant anarchist activists living in Berlin. The collective was formed in Autumn 2001 by a group of east-european migrant activists and was later joined by other migrant activists from other parts of the world. As well as this publication the collective also organizes a radio-show, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings and cultural events. We also cooperate with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and support local and global struggles against all kinds of oppression and for a free-society:.

### CORRESPONDENTS

Our work would not be possible without the great contributions of our correspondents from around EE. The work is based on a relatively stable network of

correspondents from different regions of EE which cover the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on a non-profit basis.

### EXECUTORS

Publishing, editing, text treatment, translation, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, english-proof, distribution to the local distributors, website design ... all done by ABB Collective, Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB

### COOPERATION

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region.

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

### DEADLINES

Deadline for next issue: 15.05.2006

### FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN

Free copies go to prisoners, all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe (who get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents. At the moment we print by ourselves 1500 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

### FINANCES

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our costs only through selling the newspaper so we would appreciate, if possible, benefits from outside

### BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION

As you probably noticed *THE ENGLISH* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its gramatical and stylistic ideals. It is mostly because this is *ENGLISH* in which most of our correspondents, big part of our readers and most of us (as the editors) are communicating. So obviously we choose to use *ENGLISH* which is understandable for ourselves. Secondly, we decided to be rather "*BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION*" newspaper as to rise a level of language and this way eliminate probably 30-60% of our regular readers, especially in south and eastern Europe.

### ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

[www.abb.hardcore.lt](http://www.abb.hardcore.lt)

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basically - an archive of texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

### NOT 100%

We do not necessarily agree 100% with all opinions expressed in the journal, but all here we found worth printing (for various reasons) !!!





# MAIN TOPIC OF THIS ISSUE ... "PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT"

## THE WEEK AFTER THE ELECTIONS IN BELARUS

Update on the resistance against the  
Lukashenko regime

pages 6-7



pages 17-18



*"Styrofoam" Crime or Solidarity on  
Both Sides of the Wall.*

Memories from  
the period of internment  
during the state of war  
in Poland in 1981.

Prison system, racism and  
gender oppression all in  
action against

pages 9-10



pages 21-25



**"BIEDASZYBY"**  
report from crises region in Poland

**"Criminals"  
or  
"Barbarians"?**

Roma communities  
in Hungary

## Shoot the Sheriff and Don't Forget the Deputy

An anarchist look at the mass  
psychosis  
of Law and Justice

page 11



pages 26-36



**ANTI-G8  
IN  
ST.PETERSBURG**

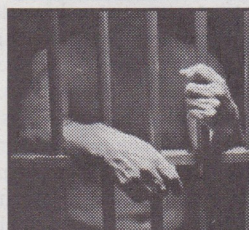
Interview and various texts on  
ongoing preparation in Russia

*"If innocents deserve our support,  
guilty ones deserve it even more!"*

## INTERVIEW WITH ABC-BIALYSTOK

anarchist prisoner-support  
group from north-east Poland

pages 12-13



pages 37-38



**The Bolkestein  
Directive**

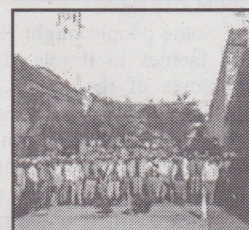
Social Dumping  
and International Challenges

*Material from Poland*

*Prisons in the East -  
Prisons in the West ...  
created by the rich -  
adopted by the poor*

**SITUATION IN  
PRISONS IN SERBIA**

pages 13-15



pages 40-41



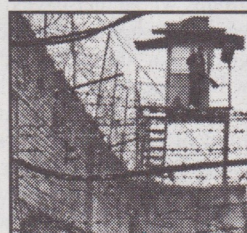
**BRUTAL REALITIES  
OF RUSSIAN  
CONSCRIPTION**

Deserter day actions organised  
by anarchists in Russia

**PRISONS FOR  
EVERYONE**

Polish governments go US-way -  
consequently increasing the  
number of prisons and prisoners

pages 16



pages 54-56



**NO BORDERS - KYIV**

Campaign against deportation  
of Uzbeki refugees  
from Ukraine

*\* Labour Struggles \* Unnoticed News \* Announcements \* ABC Reports \* Communities in Struggle \* Columns\**



## OOPS, WE DID IT AGAIN!...

In this new issue you will find usual thematics approached by us, with a large extension of the articles concerning the upcoming g8 summit in St. Petersburg: time flies, and the Leningrad cowboys are riding faster and faster towards this appointment, so check the newest happenings and think seriously about how to support our companer@s over there, wheter if joining the mobilization in Russia or organizing your own action in your local region.

At the very beginning, before introducing the main topic of this number, we feel it necessary to spend a few words to let the people know what's going on in Belarus (White Russia) at the moment while we are writing this piece: once again, some farce elections took place, where, no wonder, Mr. Lukashenko (to whom ABB has already dedicated one of its, perhaps, most primitive, but clear, cover, dated number 11) "won" around 82% of the votes... if we, as anarchists, anyway have been (and firmly are!) always convinced of how the elections, in general, are a big farce, another mere tool to reproduce the actual state of things, this time, where the so-called "democratic" rules were not respected, where the so-called last dictator of Eastern Europe played again his game, this time, even the democratic elite all over western Europe, until even Mr. Bush, screamed to the scandal...

Instead, for us the big scandal is how still so many people put their trust in some fucking ballots, worldwide, and also among the allegedly left radicals... but this is another story...

So, back to the barbarians, what happened there is that people gathered quite spontaneously in Minsk main square in order to protest against the dictatorship: a kind of camp has been build there, from different kinds of people, among them there were anarchists with many black flags to be seen... after 5 days, the camp was brutally evicted by the riot cops, heavily beating people and arresting hundreds of them.

While we are writing, a lot of our anarchist companer@s, as well as others insurgents, are sitting in the rather "uncomfortable" white Russian jails, and we would like to call for worldwide solidarity towards them and the recent happenings: so, get off the sofa and take action, whichever way you feel to be the most appropriated... but be cruel and effective!

What's happening over there, is as well something which has already shown up in places like the Ukraine, but, we already see big differences between the 2 happenings: in Belarus, we have seen, for example, a wider spread of self-organization in terms, say, of the refusal of the use of mainstream media and rather the use of the independant ones; the lack of trust towards the so-called Lukashenko political opponents, to a distrust of politicians in general which lead the people to take things into their own hands; so at the moment the process is still quite fluid and not yet overtaken from some other "democratic" politicians helped by the western democracies, who are also less present there as for the Ukrainian Orange revolution; so there is quite some space still to hope that the anger and frustration will turn into a general insurrection aimed at completely revolutionize the state of things, instead of the classic "western democracy revolution (I)". Check eyewitness reports on the pages 6-7.

We can finally introduce the main topic of this issue: prison, crime and punishment.

What do we mean by prison? How do we perceive it? How big is its influence on us? Is that meaning just those concrete, grey blocks (ok, really similar to the ones where a lot of us spent, or are still spending, their lives) which we can see in almost every "civilized" city or village? Or is that rather involving something more, deeper, not just the mere aspect of the physical imprisonment, but, and as well important, a mental condition which everybody of us is, more or less, daily reproducing within him/herself? That condition, that way of thinking, which finds its roots back to some centuries ago, which brought to light the dicotomy of crime and punishment, this incredible couple, resisting intoxicated through the years, being deeply sedimented in our mind, affecting our daily behaviour, our way of seeing those actions and facts defined as "crimes", our relation/reaction towards them, our way of condemning, of judging them...

Those are some of the points we would like to stress with the slogan present on our cover: we are, all, imprisoned in the cycle of the crime and punishment; we do reject the idea which sees the prison itself disconnected from these reflections shortly presented above, making out of the prison just a physical place, but avoiding the analysis of its mental aspects. The prison that we mean, is as well a daily way

of thinking, where we reproduce uncritically the forms and the ideas of the actual society, not questioning them, not asking ourselves why do we see as right to lock up someone, or, anyway condemn his/her actions.

One the greatest challenge would be, for us, to „break free“ from this way of thinking, to liberate our minds from the ready made society's schemes, which we see too often reproduced as well within the so-called left radical scene, often involving anarchists as well: for us, the question of the prison, crime and punishment, is a topic which is still too much avoided or even rejected from too many people next to us, who proclaim everyday to work for some revolution where, at its best, we will find again some comfortable prison for the opponents, or, anyway, the so-called asocials... what we see as a constitutive challenge of our daily life insurrection, is exactly to confront with the little judge presents in our mind, which reclaims his space every day: that's one of the hardest things we have to oppose to, day by day, mind by mind, we have to try to kill our inner judge.

On the same time, is also important to don't forget as well that, concretely, prisons absolve a different aims in the different part of the world: what we can see maybe as a worldwide-mind-process (the relation towards crime and punishment), is not always true on the more concrete aspect of the prison reality.

It is for sure different, for example, the political function of the jails in western europe, and especially in the northern part of it, where the obligation to work and the aim of „reintegration“ through a path made out of an equipe of psychiatrists and social assistants is the most privileged way chosen there, than to the reality in eastern europe (but as well quite valid for some southern european countries), where prisons still absolve the ancient role of mere custody in brutal conditions: so being the first option rather more concentrated as well on people minds and inner feelings, than the second one, still stuck in a rather middle age situation.

Unfortunately, as said before, the worldwide activist scene, beside few anarchist groups and individuals, find this ground of battle not worth to get involved with; that said, in a lot of european countries and the west part of the world, there are quite few people trying to work in this directions, and there is also quite a lot of texts, books, literature in general on this topic. During the making of this new abb issue, we sadly confronted ourselves with the scarcity of groups, individuals, literature, approaching this theme, within the eastern european spectrum: we had to recognize, that if already in the west there's an hole on this topic, over there the hole is much more deeper.

Basically, the only existing groups (at least for our knowledge) working on anti prison issues are few anarchist black cross groups, most of which even disbanded, and few individuals having a personal stand towards this problems, but counting them maybe on the finger of 2 hands... that is also why the material in this new issue is as not as much as maybe for other topic, like, just to name one, the last one about the patriarchy. We hope that maybe some people will feel provoked in a good way after reading this abb number, and that some new groups would rise soon!

Some people might find strange that, while talking about prison and themes to it related, we don't spend any words about other structures of the same „family“: even if we consider psychiatric hospitals and detention centers for immigrants as logical extension (along the line of stigmatization and punishment) of that same system's logic which constructs and maintains "normal" prisons, we decided consciously in this issue to omit these aspects of the reclusion's structure and rather focus on them within the near future with the whole complexity, that they need to be dealt with.

On the very last, besides giving our usual thanks to the different groups who either payed back their debts or made benefits for us, we would like just to especially dedicate this issue to the prisoners who are getting our journal behind the bars: what we hope is, as well, that they will not feel hurted from the maybe too abstract discourse that we made in this editorial, being in our comfortable position sitting outside in front of some computer speculating of this concrete reality made of pain and suffer which, at the moment some other people, and not us, are living in: we do not want to forget absolutely this aspect, and we hope also to get some feedback from you if you will feel like.

Your ABB crew



**ARGENTINA**

Ediciones Anarquistas  
edic\_insumisos@  
yahoo.com

**AUSTRALIA**

outetheos@yahoo.com.au

**AUSTRIA**

Infoladen Epizentrum  
Lasserstr.10 Salzburg  
infoladen.sbg@subnet.at

**BELARUS**

distro@375crew.org  
Minsk

**BELGIUM**

Anarchistische Infotheek  
Annonciadenstraat 16  
9000 Gent

**BRITISH ISLES**

★ Active Distro  
www.actedistribution.org

★ AK Press  
www.akuk.com

**BULGARIA**

Anarho Sprotiva  
Collective

**CROATIA**

suncanfema@yahoo.com  
"sto citas?" Zagreb  
Preradoviceva 32  
www.stocitas.org

**DENMARK**

pappaitalia@  
hotmail.com  
Kopenhagen

**EX-SOVIET UNION**

ftw@tao.ca

**FINLAND**

★ info@muutosvoima.net  
www.muutosvoima.net  
★ Morgue-Distro/Emma-  
Kollektiv  
morguedistro@  
yahoo.com

**FRANCE**

★ East  
ffabb@no-log.org  
★ West  
stonehenge@libertysurf.fr

**GERMANY**

wielkowitsch@  
hotmail.com  
Berlin

**GREECE**

Lily Collective  
polbleibt@yahoo.com

**HOLLAND**

International Bookshop  
Amsterdam  
sjakoo@xs4all.nl

**HUNGARY**

★ goantik@freemail.hu  
★ AK57 -  
ak57@indymedia.hu

## &lt;&lt; DISTRIBUTION CONTACTS &gt;&gt;

**ABOLISHING THE BORDERS  
FROM BELOW CONTACTS:****FOR TEXTS AND CONTACT:**

abolishingbb@riseup.net

**SEND PICTURES ONLY TO:**

abolishingbbphotos@hotmail.com

**DISTRIBUTION:**

wielkowitsch@hotmail.com

**SUBSCRIPTION:**

abolishingbb\_subs@riseup.net

**POST:** AbolishingBB  
c/o Schwarze Risse  
Kastanienallee 85  
10435 Berlin  
Germany

**PRISONER****SUBSCRIPTIONS:**

abb\_prisonersubs@riseup.net

**THE PREVIOUS ISSUES  
ARE STILL AVAILABLE DIRECTLY FROM  
OUR GROUND-ZERO-OFFICE IN BERLIN**

**issue # 21 - October 2005:** Editorial: "Selfcrucifixion is no fun"; **CZECHTEKK** it out; Food Bot Bombs in Kijev; **Electoral Circus back in Poland** - issues main topic; Unnoticed News; **Interview with anarchists from St.Petersburg** about upcoming G8-summit in russia; Radicls ecological Protest-camp in Otradny - Russia; War Criminals out of Prague - call for street protests; The 30th cogens of Anarchist Federation in Poland; The Battle of Czech-Tekk - photoreport; 5th general meeting of Autonomous Action; **Bacvanska from Inside - about custody reality in Serbia;** Is it better to be a criminal or an illegal person?- deportation prison in Basel (memories); ABC-reports; Anarchists Announcements and Appeals; @-Squatters Dialogue; **Freedom to People - Death to Empires!** - various anarchist positions on war in Chechnya; Exploitation in Supermarkets in Poland; Report from NoBorder Camps on bulgarian-greek border; Against war and a rmament - report from Brno; Counter Coulture - movie reviews; Anti-fascist news; Communities in struggle; and more ....  
**issue #22 - December 2005:** Editorial:Fascist scum is coming from the deep sewer...lets burn the fucking sewerdown!; a call for protest: **G8 summit in St.Petersburg;** **Alerta Antifascista!**- the daeth of Timur Kaczarava; Equality Parade Poznan; Authorities tactics to separete anarchists from other social movements in Slovenia; Interview- **Anarchist@s towards Prostitution;** After Elections in Poland; **Anarchism Towards Leftism-the eastern european perspektive;** Interview with Food Not Bombs Kiev& Warsaw, **The Reality Of The Nightmare** from the Barricade Collective Budapest;; Eviction of The Centrum Bialystok; poland- Freedom of assembly speech has been limited; interview with activist from support group for Mehmet Tarhan

Plus most other back issues from November 2001.

Write for details.

**FROM HAND TO HAND****DISTRO****IRELAND**

Red Ink Books Dublin  
redinkbooks@riseup.net

**ITALY**

★ Central & South  
138squat@paranoici.org  
www.tmcrow.org/  
laurentinokkupato

★ North  
crash@riseup.net

**LATVIA**

Green Liberty Riga

a232@inbox.lv

**NORWAY**

kaosborgen@  
hotmail.com

**PERU**

ateneo\_rebelde@  
yahoo.com

**PHILIPINES**

buynothingstealsomething  
@yahoo.com

**POLAND**

Oficyna Wydawnicza  
BRACHTWA TROJKA  
M. Hojak;os. Czecha  
17/8  
61-287 Poznan  
bractwo\_trojka@wp.pl,  
www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl

**PORTUGAL**

janaxana@hotmail.com  
jsandokandistro@  
portugalmail.com

**ROMANIA**

Aactiv-ist Distro  
pinkpanthers@k.ro  
Timisoara

**SLOVAKIA**

CSAF  
poste Restante 850 07  
Bratislava 57  
csaf-trencin@arachne.cz

**SLOVENIA**

kultura\_kontra@  
yahoo.com  
Ljubljana

**SOUTH AFRICA**

zababooks@zabalaza.net

**SPAIN**

★ SQL Distro  
P.O. Box 24 223  
08080 Barcelona  
winanar@wp.pl  
★ CM Bilbao-  
criminalpunx  
@paginaslibres.com

**SWEDEN**

boekhandel info  
stockholm  
bokhandeln.info@  
gmx.net

**SWITZERLAND**

★ cafe\_kabul@  
immerda.ch  
★ Infoladen Kasama  
Zürich  
info@kasama.ch

**TURKEY**

abcankara@yahoo.com  
Ankara

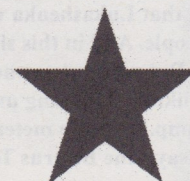
**UKRAINE**

Infoshop Kiev  
infoshop@gmail.com  
http://infoshop.zaraz.org/

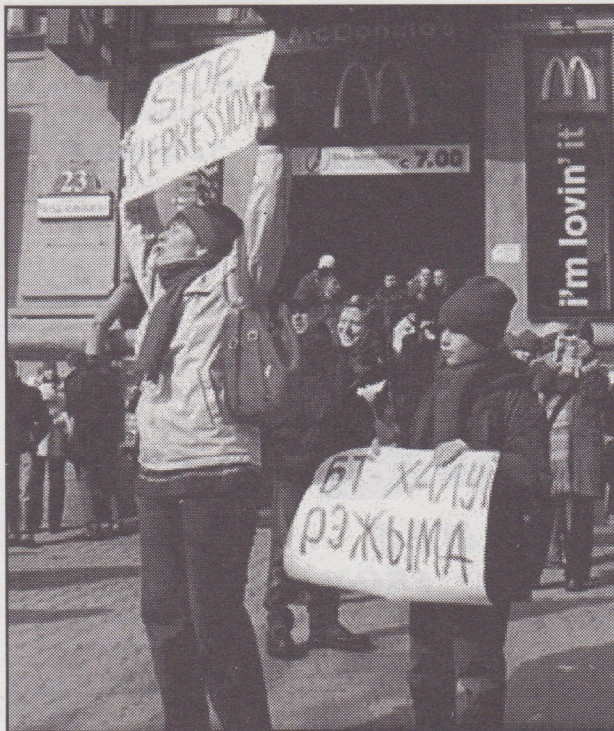
**USA**

★ Czolgosz  
jvertigo@juno.com  
★ AK Press  
www.akpress.org  
★ Santa Cruz  
quiver@hush.com  
www.antipolitics.net/  
distro  
★ Iowa  
mgcasella@yahoo.com

If you think  
that you can help  
with filling that  
network up ...  
LET US KNOW







*Ekaterina, participant at the protest camp, teacher:*

The tent camp was surrounded by state observers. The authorities wanted to make an end to the protest camp through hunger, cold and the impossibility to go to the toilet - it was like the blockade of Leningrad (St. Petersburg). The police and the military arrested everybody who went to the camp with bags - because they carried water, food, thermos flasks and warm clothes. When these people had luck only the bags were taken away. In the worst case they were sent to prison for 10 days! But despite that, the people were inventive - they hung sausages over their bodies, they dressed with several pullovers, to take them off at the camp. Outsiders could might notice that there is an unusually high amount of corpulent people near the camp. One of these people tried even to bring one transportable toilet, but he was beaten severely. Afterwards he had no face anymore - just bloody pieces of skin. I remember one old woman, who wanted to bring us some sugar - more than sugar she could not afford with her pension. She was caught by "men in black", they found sugar with her and then they forcefully fed her with this sugar. She screamed: "No, I cannot eat sugar I'm a diabetic". Some "people in civilian clothing" started to laugh and shouted: "Now you will know, (abusing word), what it means to come here with sugar. (abusing word) go away!" Somehow she could escape and she brought us half of the sugar packet, the other half was littered on the street.

*Denis, participant at the protest camp, student:*

What impressed me the most? One young woman, about 27 years old, a single mother with two children - one is three years old, the other four - she came to the camp and took people from the camp with her, to get them out of the camp. She has also got me out of this camp: like that we went, one of her sons on her arms and the other one on my arms. She brought the most costly treasure in her life in danger, her children, to help us, to save us, the children of someone else.

*Stephan, participant at the protest camp:*

All together there was no one who drank. The people, who came to the camp, were ready to die for their opinions - nobody was in doubt that Lukashenka was able to give the command to shoot at the people. And in this situation, can there be any mood for drinking? But regularly some "people in black" appeared - we called them like that - young men with water bottles, who tried to get into the camp. And one meter beside of them there was the camera of - let us say - the Belarus Television. We didn't let them in, everybody

# THE WEEK AFTER THE ELECTIONS IN BELARUS

## PROTESTS & DEMONSTRATIONS IN MINSK

### EYEWITNESS REPORTS

shouted: "Go away, you devil-servants!" Everybody laughed and that was the only way we could send them away.

*Leonid Petrowitch, worker:*

They gave 12 days in prison to my daughter for just being in the camp. One policeman told me before the court: "When she will start crying and begging for excuse, then we will immediately let her go." Who cried got only four days of arrest - these days which they have spent in prison already. But her they gave 12 days. She did not cry. And after the court I went to the October Place - to that place, where so many days my daughter stayed in a tent-town, in the coldness, in the streets. She was there for her beliefs, for her convictions. There was no camp any more but it wasn't hard to find this place. People brought flowers to this place, where there were once 35 tents. The men of the special force of police took the flowers away and burnt them or threw them away. Can it be that flowers are also dangerous for the authorities?

*Svetlana Iwaniwna, mother of one participant at the protest camp, on pension:*

Several people disappeared without any message on the 25th March. Relatives cannot find them. Crying mothers are standing for days in front of the walls of the prisons, holding signboards: "I'm looking for my son". Or: "Please help me to find my daughter." And they are bringing food and warm cloths to someone's children in hope that somebody elses mother will give food to their children.

*Maxim, doctor in an ambulance vehicle:*

I am surprised, as a medic, about the scenes in the television showing wounded police and men of the special force of police. They evoke assumptions of lies about what happened with the men of special force of police, while they were forcefully dissolving the protest meeting: 1) despite of being allegedly wounded accurately, effusions and others wounds would be visible. But there was no drop of blood. Behind the iodine stained on the head there were no wounds to see. It was clear that the scars which were medicated, were old ones, they were light and no hair is growing on that spot. There is no blood and no other indices of recent injuring. 2) In their fighting-wear it cannot be that they have been wounded so severely. To get the nose broken, the protesters had first to break the safety glass of the fighting-wear. The hit had to be so impossible strong and furthermore I can assume that if the glass would have been broken faces of these men would have been injured by the glass shards. And more improbably is that the leg of the policemen was broken. The leg was shown within a temporary splint and not in cast. When a wounded comes to a hospital, before he is brought to a sick room, some radiograms are made, the splint would be taken off and the leg would be put in cast. Thus, when the leg of one of these policemen would be really broken one would see his leg in cast, or in bondage, when there is no severe infraction or there is no infraction at all. 3) It is strange also that all the men of the special force of police and other policemen have been in one sick room. Usually one with the nose broken would be send to other hospital sections then one with a leg broken and with head injuries e.g. one would be send to surgery or to neurology. It's all just a lie.



*Paul, student:*

Yesterday the television of Belarus started a hysteric campaign because some of the protesters have attacked the reporter of Belarus Television with snow balls during the protest meeting. Well, I was there and I have seen everything with my own eyes. And yes, on the 25th or March people were throwing snow balls on the television-reporting team. I have also seen that one young man could not resist kicking the reporter in the back. In the scene of Belarus Television it was told that the reporter got the diagnosis: concussion. It's interesting where is the brain of this Belarus Television reporter, that to get a concussion it is enough to kick him in his back?

*Olga Michailowna, in pension:*

My grandson was put into prison for 10 days because he wanted to bring a thermos flask with tea to the camp. He is a student in the 5th term. In former times I used to argue with him - he was against Lukashenka, I supported Lukashenka. But now I even don't know in which prison he is kept. He just could call me: "Grandmother, don't worry, I'm arrested." But why - because of the hot tea for freezing people? I went to a shop and bought there a new thermos flask. I filled it with tea and went to the October Place - and then I understood. My grandson was right. This cannot be a good government, sending people to prison because of a thermos flask with tea. My grandson - he is not a criminal. Criminals are those who put him in jail. Why Lukashenka is so afraid to loose his power? In other countries other Presidents are not as much afraid to go. It seems to me, that he robbed a lot, that he did so much wrong, that he is afraid now that the truth will be discovered as soon as he will leave. Because otherwise, when he is an honorable man and not a theft, what is he afraid of? - A thermos flask with tea in the hands of my grandson?

*Irena, participant at the protest camp:*

In a van we were beaten cruelly, we were insulted, our mobiles were spurned. One woman was smashed up so severely, that she could nothing remember but her name. In front of the jail on remand we were kept until the morning, outside in the freeze, with the face towards the wall. To the toilet only those people were brought who had their pass with them. The police even didn't conceal that they had no place for the arrested. The authorities announced that the courts have to work on Saturday. Every accused was placed with the face towards the wall to prevent him to see the faces of those people who judged over them and the special force of police told the judge how they have arrested and kept the accused persons. Of course they lied. The lawsuits of the participants on the protest meetings were held as follows: "Family name?" - "Iwanow" - "15 days arrest. The next one!" About such things I've only read in books - about fascists. There were many women kept, especially elder women. At the same time televisions lied that every woman was released. The Belarus televisions lied only: with pleasure they have told about drunken youth who have fun at the October Place and who wanted to pick a fight. They have shown one "picture" of a young drunken man who tried to pick a fight but this man was recognized as a member of the Belarus Television.

*Jury Wassiliwitch, a jobless:*

We got the idea to go to the prison to claim the release of the arrested. There was a disciplined group going, stopping at every traffic light. The cars hooted giving us a sign of their solidarity. There were people leaving the busses and trams joining us. On the street Dserdshinskowo we met some special force of police. First they only hit with their bats against their shields. And the people exclaimed: "We are not afraid!" Then the special force of police attacked us. After the first attack, it was really scarring. It was clear that there was no escape. And first it was only a noise grenade. But then the special force of police didn't use only noise grenades but also tear gas and they beat the people cruelly. There were wounded lying on the streets. People said there have been dead, but the police took their bodies away. When busses of the special force of police passed by, the people were screaming: "Murderer!" "Fascists!". Immediately two of these busses stopped and the special force of police men started to break the crowd up. Some vans came. The people were smashed up and pushed

into the vans, also Alexander Kosilina. Until now nobody knows what happened with him, where he is, if he is alive...

*Maria Iwanowna, lecturer:*

I am a lecturer in the Technical College of Minsk, department Nr.8. They took some students out of their lectures at 12pm and brought them to the meeting of BRSM (Belarusian Union of Youth, pro-Lukashenka), in front of the USA embassy in Minsk. All the students are underage. One week before we, as lecturers signed a paper where we were forbidden to take part at meetings of the opposition. It is worth to remind that every action in those days, held in front of the embassies of EU-countries and USA were not censured. Their participants demonstrated at command of the BRSM against the policy of the EU and USA regarding their relation to the dictator of the Belarus Regime. Why they are allowed without any consequences to offend the embassies is clear. In Belarus only those are arrested who are

engaging for freedom and justice in their own country.

*Alexander, participant at the protest camp:*

Since morning there was a circle of pensioned people - those, who are against Lukashenka. Thanks to these

grandmothers and grandfathers, they have protected us. But there were also full busses of opponents. Some raged pensioned people ran out of these busses and were filmed by the Belarus Television. Their eyes - rage, mindless rage. They screamed: "How much have they paid for you all standing here?" But are there people who are ready to die for money? Idiocy! The people were there for ideas, without any hidden, false mind. Why didn't these pensioned people screamed how much Lukashenka has paid - from our pockets - to all these reporters of Belarus Televisions and other Belarus medias, how much he spends for the salaries of the special force of police men, of the police, special army forces, secret service (KGB) and for all the arrests and not for sure known assassinations. And how costly were the concerts "For Belarus"? I don't believe that international stars are such fans of Lukashenka, that they performed for free - isn't it probably that they have received enough of money for this show? And the commissions, which get "option money" for "right figures"? And where does he get the money from? From our pockets!

*The father of Andrei:*

Every day I pray for those people who were standing there at the October Place. I'm convinced that those who are responsible for those smashing ups, provocations and arresting of inculpable people will have to give responses to the population and especially to God. In the television they are telling that at the October Place there is a meeting of drug addicts. But are there any attestations that drugs were found in the blood of this particular person - of just one person who participated at the protest camp? I'm sure that there are no such things; otherwise they would show these documents 24 hours in the television. So why lying that there are only drug addicts? I'm sure that the so called addicted have titles as professors and mandate as president

contestants. And in general, it's surprising that the police didn't find at the October Place together with syringes and porno magazines, some bombs, tanks, packets. It seems they didn't look properly.



@ @ @



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

### CRIMINALISATION OF YOUTH UNSUITABLE TO THE SYSTEM IN BULGARIA:

*..IN THE COMMON INTEREST OF GOVERNMENT,  
MAFIA-STRUCTURES AND THE POLICE..*

## FREEDOM FOR JORO!



On the 19.07.2001, in Sofia, after buying some marihuana for the next months and smoking it with some friends in the park, Joro was caught by a civil policeman. He had, allegedly, 182 grams of marihuana. The Sofia City Council immediately raised the accuse of possession and dealing on public space, among more than one person, and with high-risk drug substances. On the 18.07.2003 The Sofia City Court sentenced him to six years of imprisonment.

At first sight you could think this is a typical situation of a dealer caught with drugs... The reality, though, is much harder.

### WHO IS JORO?

Joro himself is a father of a six years old girl. They were living happily together with her mother in a small attic in Sofia. Their daily life problems were not much different than those of other young families in Bulgaria. Like thousands of other young people there, they were also occasional marihuana users. They used to buy marihuana sold in grams because it is cheaper. One of the strongest arguments of the defence is, that the marihuana was for personal consumption and that no money was found on him. This has been not taken into account from the court.

Joro is also the founder of the PROMENA (Change) movement, which is fighting from 2002 for the decriminalisation of marihuana in Bulgaria and against the higher consumption of hard drugs among the youth... Manifestations, demonstrations, public debates, and other initiatives supporting the idea were part

of his daily life. Until the day of his arrest.

### THE STORY BEGINS...

In the end of 90s the possession of marihuana in Bulgaria (no more than 3 grams) was allowed. With the application of Bulgaria in the European Union new discussions started, the Medias were continuously showing reports and statistics about young people taking drugs. The society was, of course, turning into a negative approach to the situation without having an idea of what actually had to be done.

This was a perfect situation for the Mafia with its drug business and for the government structures to turn the game in their way. Bulgaria is well known because of its strong mafia structures, corruption, prostitution and drug business. You should not be so clever to see the relation between all these things. In the last years the situation for the addicted people in Bulgaria was so bad as in the end of 90s: one commune in the mountains; a couple of methadone programs; state clinics where the employees were selling drugs to the addicted people; and expensive private clinics. What was even worse for these people was the new law adopted from the government, which was sending them directly into the prison where they even do not have the possibility of a professional, medical treatment.

### THE LAW...

The possession and consumption of drugs had been criminalised in 2002 and approved as law from the Bulgarian Parliament. People who are possessing even 1 gram of the so called highly risky drugs, can get sentenced from 10 up to 15 years. They are considered as drug dealers. The most striking is that marihuana is put on the same level with heroine, amphetamines, cocaine and etc., which means that if you go on the streets with 1 gram marihuana in Bulgaria and you are caught by the police you can be sure to get a fast court process.

Unbelievable! Or at least we were thinking like this. Everybody living in this country was thinking that this is some kind of bad joke - even for rape the sentence in Bulgaria is from 5 up to 10 years. Though, the law was approved and quickly it started to be used from the police. Millions of people were caught by police with one or two joints. The police were stopping for control on the streets, they were blocking even the public transport and were checking the people clothes everywhere; they were even climbing in the mountains when they got a signal of people camping over there. The victims were, of course, young people who had a more alternative outlook. They had to choose between prison and giving money to the policemen. This entire situation was just perfect for the government, able to get rid of everybody who is not suitable to the system, perfect for the mafia structures, having

money to pay for everything and selling their drugs, and perfect for the police, who daily got their money from the young smokers.

Just perfect!

### THE REALITY NOW!

PROMENA now exists as an NGO of different young people trying continuously to show to the society the absurdity of the state law which puts an hard criminalisation for possession and consumption of drugs.

The number of addicted people is rising but the treatment programs not. There is official information of two people caught for drug consumption and possession who died in the arrest under unclear circumstances.

Joro is number XXXXXXXX in the 30 brigade in the prison Kremikovzi, Sofia.

He lives in a cell with 14-15 people. Some of them are sentenced for raping, some for stealing, all have 4 years sentences. He is sleeping on the third floor bed which is usually forbidden because it is considered as very high and that's why dangerous. The hope of Joro to get out is getting smaller as the days pass by. He wants to see his daughter. He is more scared for the time when he will go out. PROMENA people are trying to help but they are also threatened from repression.

Here are the contacts you can use if you  
want to help in any way:

[www.freejoro.org](http://www.freejoro.org)

[www.promena.org](http://www.promena.org)



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

**"THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN ARE FORCED TO GROW UP IN PRISONS AND OTHER STATE INSTITUTIONS"**

# PRISON SYSTEM, RACISM AND GENDER OPPRESSION - ALL IN ACTION AGAINST ROMANIAN COMMUNITIES IN HUNGARY

Spending time and talking with people in Hungary, the situation I can see proves once again the racist dimensions of the institutional and prison system and of course the society in general. I will try to explain this a little bit more on the example of Roma – the largest ethnic minority in Eastern Europe.

The local Hungarian government takes away especially children from Roma families for every kind of 'official' reason (financial problems – no adequate housing – unemployment status – alcohol or drugs ...). Generations of Roma children are dismissed from their original parents, families, culture and ethnicity. Every year thousands of children are forced to grow up away in state institutions. State welfare policies reflect a clear racist attitude towards Roma families, according to which it is often better to take children away from Roma families, than to give financial support to the families themselves. At the end of the road the Roma child finds his-/herself in a state institution – like an orphanage – in the contrary to children from the majority who are placed with foster parents

(most of them never willing to take a Roma child into their home).

The current Hungarian systems of imprisonment and forced removal of children fails to acknowledge at all, how general policies and practices ultimately discriminate, exacerbate and perpetuate Roma. In general the actual policies just continue longstanding patterns of oppression and assimilation. I will just give a short example on the issue of 'no adequate housing' as one discriminative reason to place children into state institutions:

In January 1994, local Hungarian governments began selling off social apartments, since these apartments brought in little rent income and were expensive to maintain. In some cases, the most cost-effective strategy was to demolish the building entirely – in Budapest's 8th District known as the 'Magdolna Project'. In the 8th District for example, 35 municipal apartment buildings have been demolished and in the 13th District, 60 buildings were pulled down. Neither district has serious plans to construct new apartment blocks. Both areas have large Roma populations (almost 80% in the 8th District). The process of privatization of government owned apartments is

for the most part over. There are waves of evictions of squatters to empty the apartments for private buyers. It is estimated that squatters in the 13th District of Budapest are 80% Roma. Needless to say, that even if government owned flats are on sale, Roma mostly cannot purchase them and face evictions after their contracts are running out.

Ghettoization is on the increase. There are several extremely substandard areas, often characterized by a lack of electricity, provision of potable water or sewage. This leads to forms of sanctioned segregation, both urban and rural. The 'slum clearance' occurred the first time in the 9th District in Budapest, but is now already exercised in the 8th District as well. A lot of desperate Roma families, have squatted flats in the 8th District for such a long time, that they have become legally entitled to stay. However, in the case of the 'slum clearance' it is now possible to evict them all from the apartments.

### FORCED REMOVAL OF ROMANIAN CHILDREN

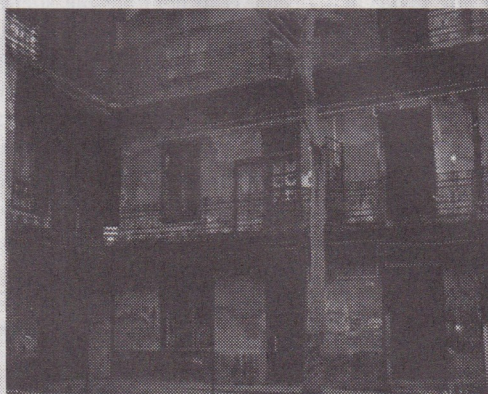
If the local government evicts Roma from their flats because they cannot pay rent, fees or have been squatters, the local



authorities cancel their permanent address too. They become homeless, their children have no permanent address anymore, which leads, to the placement of the children in state institutions. This case is even called 'the cleaning out on ethnic aspects'.

First this is contributing to a growth in the number of children in state institutions, who are not orphans, means who have living parents.

Second it curbs up the disproportionate number of Roma children in institutions. There are no ethnic statistics to identify the concrete and tangible patterns of indirect discrimination and systemic oppression. But for example unofficial NGO report figures indicate that in 2000 around 90% of children in Romania's country state institutions are Roma, while they count only for around 10% of the



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



Romanian population.

Roma also constitute a majority of the prison population. Roma make up around 60% of Hungary's prison population, even though they comprise only around 5% of the country's total population of 10 million. Roma 'crime' is often directly linked to poverty, discrimination and the economic circumstances, as high unemployment rates. The unemployment rate among Roma in Hungary is estimated to be 70%, more than six times the national average of 11%. For a considerable part of the Roma population petty 'crimes', such as shoplifting food, has become the only method of daily survival. There is also a strong discrimination against Roma at the handing out of state punishments. The penalty against small offences where the number of Roma is relatively high is comparatively much stronger and it is not unusual to receive years of imprisonment.

Prejudices/discrimination/racism against Roma women is

present to an event greater extent than against Roma in general. Roma are very often described with expressions like 'they steal, cheat and lie'. Yet the position of Roma women is even worse than described above. The meaning of

'Roma women' is for large parts of the majority almost equal to an easy prey or a prostitute.

After meeting Roma girls who are forcibly grown up in state institutions or still do, I will try to give them some space in this text, to show the intersection of three points: the prison system, racism and gender oppression.

The following interview segments are conducted in a Hungarian reformatory (kind of correction center) run on a nationwide basis by the Ministry with two Roma girls in the age of 17. Girls from the age of 10 until the age of 18 years are locked up for the maximum of 2 years, for example resulting as an 'alternative punishment' from a court order.

*"The orphanages for example on the border to Western countries, such as the Hungarian city of Sopron, are quite dangerous places for Roma girls. Close to Sopron there is a well established area for street prostitution serving mainly men who come for*

*sex tourism. In this area primarily underage girls from this orphanage are forced by men to prostitute themselves."*

*"The police kind of knows and tolerates the whole thing. If a girl is missing in the orphanage they don't really go for her. Sometimes they receive corrupt money or they are paid in kind, means they can choose a forced under age prostitute for free."*

*"In the beginning guys are waiting in front of the orphanages and promise girls they get in contact with, everything. Sometimes it takes even months, during them they are really kind and establish a relationship as well as dependency. Every trafficker or pimp knows what girls from an orphanage are missing, such as security, social affiliation, love, friendship .... So for them it doesn't really matter how long it takes, they will achieve their goal."*

*"Roma girls in the state institutions are the most at risk. Mainly Roma men come to recruit Roma girls into forced prostitution. Also Roma girls are used to recruit other girls from the Hungarian majority, while the still stay at the orphanage. If Hungarian men are involved at this stage of the process, they are mainly grown up with the Roma men. The problem is, that Roma girls are grown up between to different worlds and they still feel that they don't belong to one of them. They are excluded from the majority population and don't feel related to the Roma communities, because they were never in contact, while living in the state institutions. So mainly because of so much discrimination in the whole society, they have more trust in people from their ethnicity and that is used by the traffickers."*

*"In general in most orphanages and also in this reformatory the majority are Roma girls. Mainly underage Roma girls from state institutions in the country side are recruited and brought into*

*Budapest. There are also places for example in Vienna, where underage girls from Hungary have to work with false passports. I also had to do this for quite some time, before they sold my to the Netherlands."*

*"By the majority of cases, you can see underage Roma girls that are forced to work in the street as prostitute. Underage girls from the majority population are forced into sexual exploitation mainly in private flats. The point is that even if the street is visible – it seems that the forced underage Roma prostitute is invisible, in the contrary to the girls from the majority. So nobody really cares – it is ignored or tolerated. That means less risk for traffickers, for example when it comes to police raids. Girls from the majority population have, even if raised in an orphanage, a much stronger social affiliation and by this also constitute a higher risk."*

*"Everybody knows – the police, the girls in the state institutions, the staff in the orphanages ...., but nobody is doing anything against it."*

Already these few statements indicate a disproportionate representation of Roma girls in prison and institutions, as well show the exploitation based on gender and ethnicity. How and why Roma become forcibly removed from their families is a complicated social reality in all Eastern Europe. The whole issue should move much more into the spectrum of anarchist discussions and actions. Meaning an openness to confront the silence and sometimes even underlying prejudice inside the scene, clarification of facts based on the differences in the circumstances. Direct actions could be taken to stop oppressive practices or to create better conditions using immediately available means.

by Alex  
AbolishingBB



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



# PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

## SHOOT THE SHERIFF – AND DON'T FORGET THE DEPUTY

### AN ANARCHIST LOOK AT THE MASS PSYCHOSIS OF LAW AND JUSTICE

Criminal excess, especially amongst the rich and politically powerful, has led many iron-



fisted opportunist into positions of authority. The public at large, sensing mass disrespect for civic decency and abuse of public funds, lash out at the common criminal, while the real criminals remain free to act.

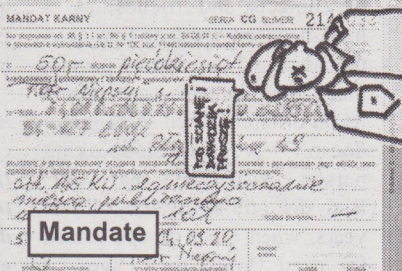
Take for example the situation of one of our comrades last week. Like many economically marginal people, he doesn't have too much money but still likes to get around. Our comrade had accumulated some fines for taking transport without paying and was arrested. The amount of the fines, we found out later, was 550 zł. - for about 130 euro. This was maybe 6 tickets. The proposed punishment for this - 11 days in jail, or one day for each 50 zł. (12 euro).

Our friend pointed out that, unfortunately, of the people he met in jail, he was not the only one there for fines. He also pointed out that one month in prison costs the public 1600 zł per prisoner. In other words, slightly over 53 zł. per day. We should spend this money to punish somebody and to count off the 50 zł. a day, which he then would be paying us back. The logic behind it - simply baffling.

Of course, you don't have to be an anarchist to figure out that this punishment does no real

good. People with the most fines generally tend to be the ones with the least money - the chronically unemployed or the underemployed. To think in terms of a tax-paying society, spending 53 zł. a day to jail somebody when a monthly ticket costs 66 zł doesn't make any sense. Rather than a day or two in jail for a fine, we could simply give free monthly passes to unemployed or very poor people. For

those jealous bastards, who don't believe in something for nothing, you could probably get the majority of people to agree on an



exchange for a couple of hours a month sweeping the street or shovelling the snow.

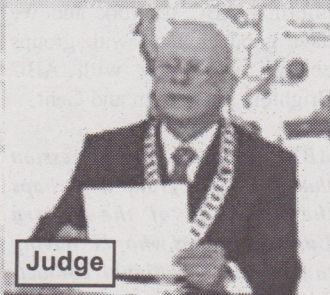
But the fact is, if Law and Justice are our sheriffs, the average person is its willing deputy. After some discussion, they could maybe even agree, that it makes no sense at all to get tough of those sorts of "crimes", but the desire to punish often overcomes their logic. The world is wrong and they want people in jail. The problem is that they tend to blame the wrong people.

The average person pretending to be a law abiding citizen is not happy, if they are forced to do something, but "somebody else" gets away without doing it. There is some sort of primitive logic of fairness at work, only "they" tend to focus on their peers, most of whom are

not the real plunderers of public property. Average people understand the everyday rules, like paying your bus fare or income tax. They have opportunities to see their peers or people of a similar social class in action - but rarely do they see or explore the workings of the higher echelons of power in the business or government communities. The scale of theft is simply incomparable.

The Law and Justice Party was put in power by those looking to vent their frustrations on criminals and the Justice Minister Ziobro, so eager to make a good impression. He has famously stated that there is plenty of room in Polish jails.

Already we can see what kind of hard justice they have in store for the public. What is worse, people seem to be increasingly punished just for "offending" people. We hear more and more about people going to jail for offending policemen. (There was one in our friend's cell too.) And right-wingers are threatening to take people to court for offending their religious beliefs quite regularly now. A few famous cases of punishment for speech crimes:



1. A journalist goes to jail for offending a local politician;
2. A TV station will be heavily fined (up to 1 million zł.) because a feminist made fun of a Catholic radio personality on a talk show;
3. A newspaper editor is fined for

criticizing the Pope;

At the same time as this all is going on, the headlines scream about Belarusian oppositionists picked up in the streets and jailed for "cursing" and other imagined crimes against the authorities.

And the irony, it seems, is again wasted on the average Mr. and Mrs. Kowalski, who would gladly trade some civil rights for an illusion of social order.

In such a social climate, the easiest fast solution is a false one - social order through conformity, subordination to social and religious dogmas and, above all, punishment. And this solution is all the more tragic and senseless given the fact that the worse the excesses of capitalist exploitation, the greater the real social alienation, the more desperate and anti-social some people become. The leaders of society, lead us down a path which has tended to lead to increased antisocial behaviour. Still they cannot own up to their responsibility, nor will they bother to really deal with it. Instead, the solution is to punish and isolate - and eventually even destroy those who cannot manage. Their "solution" to such situations - to throw people in jails with hardened criminals in order to cure them of criminal inclinations.

An anarchist treatment of the questions of anti-social behaviour is certainly a complex issue, but one thing is certain: the current treatment of the question is not only far from satisfactory, but it is cruel, often counter-productive and self-perpetuating.

You might not be inclined to shoot the deputies, but they are not to be forgotten.

**Laura Akai**  
Warsaw – Poland

# PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

*"If innocents deserve our support, guilty ones deserve it even more!"*

### ABB MEETS ABC

#### INTERVIEW WITH ABC-BIALYSTOK, ANARCHIST PRISONER-SUPPORT GROUP FROM NORTH-EAST POLAND

During the making of this new ABB issue, which tries to focus itself on the topic of prison, crime and punishment, we were very keen to have few interviews with anti prisons/prisoners support groups active within eastern europe, beside the articles coming from the correspondents.

That is why we tried to get in touch with the different anarchist black cross group existing in that area. We could also stress again, for the ones who are not too familiar with it, that the idea of abc (named on its very beginning as Anarchist Red Cross), its very first coming to the light, actually was started in the tsarist Russia, to organise aid for political prisoners captured by police, and to organise self defence from political raids by the Cossack army.

That said, the actual eastern reality is sadly quite weak concerning ABC activities, since most of existing groups look like as they would not be active anymore. Another sad point, is as well the very lack of groups, in general, who try to work on this prison issues. We hope, that slowly these topics will find a wider approach and interest among the anarchists over there, being prison, crime and punishment central points of confrontation for every anarchist perspective that cannot be longer avoided.

On behalf on ABB, speaks Clony.

#### Your ABB

**ABB:** *Can you describe the activities in which your ABC group is/was involved? Since when you are existing and what kind of supporting work you organise...*

Well, its hard to say when exactly ABC Bialystok was founded, I think about 2000 when few of us decided that we don't want to take part in what was then know as ABC-Federation in Poland, therefore we decided to form our autonomous group. Our area of activity was mostly publication of bulletin (since there is no other ABC publication in Poland our local bulletin became national one), leaflets, stickers and other types of propaganda. We were never really organized group with regular meetings etc. It was mostly few of us doing things under name of ABC. Of course important part was and still is translating and spreading information about repression and solidarity in other countries. We regularly publish info on indymedia and other websites; we also have our own website. Of course supporting prisoners is important part as well - writing

letters, organizing protests (this occasionally though), sending them literature, visiting them...

**ABB:** *What kind of contact do you have with the other ABC groups around? Do you do some networking between each other?*

In Poland apart from Warsaw there is no ABC group anymore. Poznan seems to exist on paper, but apart from publishing completely outrageous statements from time to time and collecting money for campaigns that never seem to happen afterwards they don't do anything. With people from Warsaw we are in good contact and one person from their group helps us a lot with bulletin. As for European groups - ABC Bialystok is part of European informal ABC network and we have good contacts with groups abroad, especially with ABC Brighton, Stockholm and Gent.

**ABB:** *We do have the impression that your ABC group is perhaps the only one of the eastern European ones, who is having the most international contacts with the other western existing ABC groups. Can you explain*

*why it is like that?*

It is simple - when you have in group person that speaks English and travels a lot around, then its natural that it creates lots of contacts and friendships. I have been on most of European meetings and met lots of people, maintained contacts etc. I guess its bit different when some group doesn't have English-speaking person. Also fact, that ABC Bialystok still exists after all this years, when other groups ceased to exist long time ago or completely changed people that are involved, whereas here we are still more or less same people.

**ABB:** *How do you feel that is perceived yours supporting work among the anarchist, but also activist, community in your region? Is it considered an important part of the political work? And, as well as much interesting, if there is any response on this theme from a wider audience, say "normal" people.*

Well, in general this type of work is perceived as something important but in my opinion still not important enough. People are

always interested to read news but rarely does it move them to do anything. The concept of revolutionary solidarity, which we actively try to promote, is still quite alien to polish anarchists. It is slowly changing but there is long way to go.

**ABB:** *We do know that in the so called "constitutive principle" of the ABC groups worldwide, there is the rejection of the dichotomy crime/punishment and the critic and refusal of the prison as a way to solve these society's conflicts. How is your approach towards these topics? Do you also share this critic? Did you developed an own discussion on this?*

We as anarchists are completely against very idea of prison, which in our opinion is most basic foundation of repression. We try to develop some discussion about it, but as I mentioned before - it takes time and there are only few of us. We translated few texts and articles about topic of prison and we plan to do more.

**ABB:** *Linked to the question*

Anarchistyczny Czarny Krzyż  
Anarchist Black Cross - Białystok



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

before, is also for us really interesting to know if you have/had any contact, or as well if you did any support work, for so called "social" prisoners?

We always work with "social prisoners" unless they are rapists, informers or fascists. We reject notion of "political prisoner". At the moment we are in regular contact with one of them. He is an anarchist but was jailed for drug related stuff (possession of weed), nothing to do with political activity. Though all this years there were always prisoners like this that received

**ABB:** We have the feeling that more and more overall the rejection feeling towards the prison complex/mentality is decreasing into the so called movement: can be the antifascist one, often asking jail for Nazis, or, also often, the widespread

refusal to assume the support of "guilty" prisoners. On the other side, anarchists were always the ones who tried to raise this topic and bring it forward through the years, being always almost the only ones who confronted themselves critically with this.

**How do you see this developing? Do you have the feeling that something is changing towards a more abolitionist direction? How is, towards your group, the reaction of people when they hear slogans like "Burn the prison downs", "freedom for all", etc.?**

Well, it looks bit better these days, but in Polish anarchist movement there is still prevalent very reformist approach, all the time implying "innocence" of somebody we support etc. At the same time there are still people that refuse to support anarchist comrades, because they robbed a bank or did some other controversial stuff like placing bombs etc. We stand on position: if innocent deserve our support, guilty ones deserve it even more! It is very visible in recent campaign for Tomasz Wilkoszewski (antifascist prisoner in Poland) - there is big

part that still talks how he is innocent, how he is poor victim etc. We instead prefer not to dwell into empty discussions whether he is guilty or not. Even some petitions for his release made by this part of the movement are simply disgusting, with parts like "we think he can be released and he is ready to work for the society" etc. Change is happening, but very slowly.

**ABB:** During the work on this issue of ABB, we tried to research some contacts to abolitionist/anti-prison groups in the eastern European context, but, until now, we didn't found anything into this direction. Do you know any other groups working towards this direction? If yes, give us some good tip!

I don't think there are any, which again is showing in what sad state anarchist movement in Poland and to some extent in Eastern Europe is!

**ABB:** Prisons in Eastern Europe are famous for their primitive and brutal conditions (although there is also a couple of southern European ones which make a good concurrence to them). We do think that the function of the prisons over there still absolve a different task compared to, say

germans or english ones, being still more concentrated into the mere detention aspect, rather than into the so called aims of the reintegration into the society through a path made out of psychologists, social assistants and a central role of the work, often chosen from most of the other western countries. How do you see this?

Well, I think that with recent plans of new Polish governments we are heading towards American model, where there will be more prisons, more sentences and all prisoners will have to work for private companies. Of course prisons don't try to reintegrate anybody, but in reality same is in other countries of Western Europe as well, especially in UK where prisons are, I dare to say, much more brutal and primitive than e.g. in Poland.

**ABB:** Ok, thanks a lot and best greeting to all there!

**With anarchist greetings!  
Fire to the prisons and its guardian dogs!**

Interview made by  
Clony/AbolishingBB

## PRISONS IN THE EAST – PRISONS IN THE WEST ... CREATED BY THE RICH – ADOPTED BY THE POOR

### SITUATION IN PRISONS IN SERBIA

#### THE HISTORY OF PRISONS AND THE LOGIC OF ISOLATION

First I would like to say that the leading tendencies in every society are created by the elites who control education, medias and other „devices“ for the (mass) control of society. The state is created by riches, nobody asked to poor, to the slaves, anything. The same is with the prisons. First prisons in history were created by the riches, to put inside the poor who took money but didn't give it back – but question would be: How they became richer than other in the community? So, my opinion is that the poor didn't have obligation to give it back, they just took back the stolen.

During the time, the system of punishing got

institutionalised, so there is no more some private, physical person who is the punisher, the executor, who could be targeted, hated, from the poor. In the middle age, whatever someone did, many people had mercy for him when they would see how he is screaming on the square during the torture, the killing, by the executor. Therefore, authorities are trying during the time afterwards to hide, to move the punishing away from the public context. Elites make censorship about the visits, the letters, etc, they build criminal prisons and prisons for the deportation, refugee camps also, far away from the cities, in woods or in fields, through education and with the help of the medias they successfully control the way of thinking of the majority of people. Only the

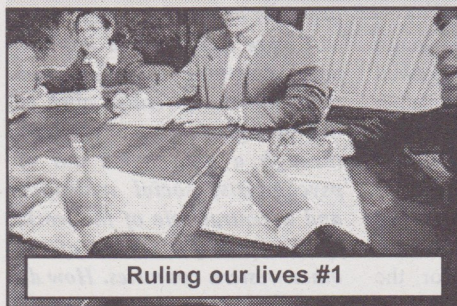


Woman in Prison in Serbia

## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



Ruling our lives #1

prison's guards, their chef and the victims know what's happening inside. All of this become quite clear if someone research the history of the state, of prisons, of punishing...

It is the tendency of the authority to build the social state, to make people being soft, pacifists (while the state realise the repression), to hide from them horrible things, to make nice terms like: „in the name of nation“, or censorship because of „interest of investigation“ or „of aim of punishing-correction“, etc. Everything of this has an influence on the people who are under control. For example, in January 2006, one media in Swiss published the results of some interviews to people: Should prisoners get worse food? 70% of asked answered: Yes. Authorities can't crate such a mentality without the control of education, of medias as well. The majority is thinking in the way riches are interested to.

### WHERE TO START TO DISMANTLE THE PRISON-MENTALITY?

Anarchists and other activists should fight against it in the way which they find for good and effective. My opinion is that first step is to give information to the people about the whole problematic: about the situation in prison, about if does prison correct anybody (so the self-proclaimed aims), to show the real light of the „nice“ theory and to explain to the people that prisons are a revenge of the riches, to show the failure of the justice's system, to show the benefits of the elites from prison's industry, etc. People don't react because of the lack of information and because they are trying to adapt themselves in the time and in the system in which they are born in, the system they see around themselves. They are trying to find some personal success in all of it. People are participating without too much thinking, concerning the general judgement towards the people who „crossed the line“. Beside the lack of information, some reasons for such behaviour is that people are feeling weak as individuals against the system, and some people are simply careerists who don't care for the others. Judgement, the justification of punishing is in any case helped by the elites, elites are creating public opinion and the whole system, people just adapt themselves into it.

### EASTERN SPECIFIC – MENTALITY CHANGED AND THE “CRIMES” ARE CONSIDERED AS A COMMON THING

At this point I would like to mention that the difference between East and West Europe is that youngs in Serbia don't discriminate so much someone who was in prison like it is in the case of the West. It is caused by the bad economic situation within the last 15 years here: workers stayed poor while criminals became rich. So, for many youngs, criminals are idols, criminals are a symbol for enjoying in system, system where the enjoying is connected with having the money. Older people in cities in Serbia also lost any faith in the state, it is very visible in a little country which had its benefits from the privatisation and from wars, many people had to participate into the black market in order to survive. So, my impression is that discrimination of ex-prisoners is bigger in West. There was such a discrimination in the time of dictator Tito. But now, because of economic destruction, mentality has changed, people accepted some things as normal ones.

### THE EXECUTORS HAVE NAMES

In order that it not getting forgotten: cops, judges, prosecutors, chefs of prisons, are not functions without any names behind them. Concrete people persecute and torture other people. These days I read in german's indymedia that 9 people have been condemned in Rom (Tombolino got 9 years for sending of „letterbomb“ which exploded in hand of cop, a second person 6 years for bomb attack on court house, a third person got 3 years for smashing one McDonalds). In Hessen, a region of Germany, the first, partly privatised, prison was opened in November 2005. As we see, elites are very good organised, coordinated, they are not passive. Beside it, economic acts can be political ones also, because there can be resistance to exploitation, to hierarchy, etc. I say it because some people think that political prisoners are only those who attacked, let's say, the president. Especially when someone is illegal in West, without the right to be exploited, or without any possibility to find a job, than such person is criminalised by westeuropean authorities. Unfortunately, elites created a good security system around themselves, so that the victims of the „illegals“ are other exploited people (on the streets or anywhere).

### ISOLATION OF MIGRANTS BRINGS THEM FASTER TO PRISONS

Elites in Western Europe worked on it to separate the domestic from the foreign workers, the domestic from the illegals, etc.

The fact is that the class of the exploited is separated and it is the case with anarchists from East and West. If some anarchist from East come to the West without visa and without money, everybody will run away, nobody will help them. The West consisted, for me, of egoistic individuals who would help you only if you are in a sex relation with them or if you are being friends for a long time. Of course, the illegals have no time to make so long friendships. So, if people who are in the privileged position (full right citizens in West) will not help as individuals, or if they don't create organised infrastructure for giving information and support, they will remain little groups and will never succeed to approach the illegals and foreigners with anarchism and with the movement. It is enough to say that the fight of an „illegal person“ is broken for a long time, only after the first arrest because of the deportation which usually follows it. Instead, the fight of the „domestic activist“ against the system can continue already after 48 hours of the arrest.

Illegals are underclass, without even the right to be exploited, to get social help, even if they find black-jobs, the chef can say: I don't want to pay you. Therefore, this situation bring illegals earlier or later in any kind of prison. It is clear that elites work against all of us, but it is a fact that illegals and foreign workers get only verbal support from anarchists and from activists. Illegals are left alone too much. Even during the french-riots last year, the illegals and foreign workers cooperated together, as they are not connected with „domestic“ people.

### HUMILIATION, VEXATION, HEALTH DEGRADATION, STRESS, BOREDOM AND XENOPHOBIA – COMMONPLACE IN DEPORTATION PRISON

The prison for deportation in Basel, Swiss, was full of people. About 80 of us, although it was constructed for maybe the half less. Therefore, administration built bed up over beds on the ground. This prison is new, 6 years old, but the administration make life inside harder. They closed doors of cells half hour before it is written in House Order, so we had to eat inside of cells and the result is that cells stink whole night after food. I was in a cell with 2 beds, 9m+2m WC without door just 1m far away from bed. They limited our



Ruling our lives #2

## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

time to ask for doctor. Doctor would always refuse to help - I don't know what they do when someone dies. It is because the mentality of Switzerland, plus, sure, such instruction coming out from the administration. Prison's guards are trying to make life more nervous. You must ask them (if you demand they will teach you how you should ask) 100 times to get something for hygiene, sometimes they would control you until the skin as you would come back from the doctor to the cell, etc. On the TV we had just slovenian channels, although people from this state don't finish in such kind of prison, the newspapers, we could order only from a list created by the administration, only one time weekly. So, except of limiting the freedom and of the stress because of the insecure situation (about deportation), boredom and prison's guards are the biggest problem for imprisoned people. Therefore, imprisoned people should have someone outside for contact, for help. Letters, something like Discman and CDs with music, books, are necessary things for imprisoned people, to help them in the „fight“ against boredom.

Prisons for deportation run by xenophobic administration, the same like criminal prisons. Imprisoned people can be less xenophobic in prisons for deportation than in criminal prisons. That's my impression.

### CLASS DIVISION IN CENTRALNI ZATVOR - CUSTODY AND PRISON IN BELGRADE

We can see that in the prisons of Spain people die „from heart attack“, that Basque people are beaten by spanish nationalists, etc. So it is a reflection of the control of state repressive departments which have control of the mentality, ruling rules, in the prisons. I was in custody, not in prison, in Belgrade, it was called Centralni Zatvor - CZ. Inside, most of the people are xenophobic - they hate everything that is not from Serbia, who is not xenophobic he will adapt himself to the ruling opinion which is created by the main persons in cells. There is violence of the stronger over the weaker, youngs will always use any chance to be an authority for the others, older people are okay. In 2004, it was allowed one time weekly to take a shower. In 2005 it was allowed 2 times weekly. During the 2005 was allowed to have a radio. One part of CZ is new, built for ex-political elite and for their killers. They have modern cells, everyday warm water, 3 beds per cell. The ordinary cell in an old part of CZ is 30 square meters, with 12 or 14 people. CZ is very old, so we had to wash dishes and clothes in WC with cold water, the door of WC is with holes so it stinks when someone is inside, ventilation is natural... Simply, too many people in a small place and place is very old.

### THE ROLE OF THE „BIG CRIMINALS“ IN THE SERBIAN PRISONS

Beside CZ which is a custody and prison for junkies, well known prisons are in Sremska Mitrovica, Zabela in Pozarevac town (in Zabela is the only prison for women) and prison in Nis. After the dismissal of Milosevic, in October 2000, the chefs of the prisons have changed. New ones are marionettes of the new elites, so again some people have privileges, for example the ex-director of the national TV in Zabela. The only one NGO which can visit serbian prisons and make reports is Helsinki Comeetee for HR in Serbia ([www.hls.org.yu](http://www.hls.org.yu)), so at their website you can read details about the conditions of life in serbian prisons. I found one woman from NGO who visited women-prison in Zabela but they don't want to give to the people the reports about it.



The reception part of CZ is responsible for the mix of „big“ with „little“ criminals, because they decide who will go in which cell. One boy, who was „friendly tortured“ said: When I will go out, I will work honestly, I will not do anything against the law“. His words are reaction of the tortures. Therefore I say that „big“ are cooperators of administration because they realise the wish of the repressive departments: that little criminals give up from such a thing. So the „big“ criminals bring people on the „good way“. Such rules which exist in cell are created by administration and „big ones“ just realise it. „Big ones“ get privileges for it: warm water every evening, improvised body building, exchanging of messages between cells, etc. I can describe relation between prison's guards and „big criminals“ like relation between father and son. The father like his son whatever he is doing, until the moment when he crosses the line - until he is having a bad behaviour towards the guards -if he crosses the line, the groups of „fathers“ will beat him 2 days long.

### POSSIBILITIES OF STRIKES IN THE SERBIAN PRISONS

In every cell there are 1 or 2 „big ones“ who decide everything. It is so about strikes

also. If the leaders in cells decide to strike, everybody follow them. So the chef of the prison must negotiate with them. But like „father and son“, they always find compromises. Individual strike can succeed but very rarely. If you demand your rights, first you will meet sceptic reactions from the other imprisoned, second the doctor and the judge will try to scare you or to send you at psychiatry because of such behavior. So, way of thinking in prisons are created by secret agency, by administration, and it is realised by „big criminals“, therefore opinion inside is xenophobic, therefore inside are ruling hierarchy and violence which are dominating the relations.

### NO ANARCHISTS IMPRISONED FOR NOW

In any case, I don't have any informations that any active anarchist or activist is in prison in Serbia right now. During the state of emergency, one comrade from the Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative had been 3 days in custody, just because he is an anarchist. But as I said, for me, people who do something for money can be also political prisoners, if it is because of their refusal to be exploited and to submit themselves to a chef. Here in Serbia there are no any special activists group working with/for prisoners, but anarchists are surely interested for such topic, among other ones.

By Sasha  
Belgrade - Serbia

★ ★ ★

### More information on the topic

For more info I recommend the readers to visit libraries - especially of Faculty of Law, to find reports or magazines of activists and of NGOs, to contact groups which are in contact with imprisoned people, to help with letters, with music, with books...etc. I would like to ask the western comrades to update their contact addresses: contact for ABC-Hamburg is not to be found, email of ABC-Copenhagen seems to be not correct, etc. Some pages/contacts in the western Europe I recomend to for a good beginning:

<http://www.anarchistblackcross.org>

<http://www.knast.net>

[www.contraste.org](http://www.contraste.org) (January issue is about censorship in prisons)

Autonomes Knastprojekt, Elsasserstrasse 34, D-50667 Köln.

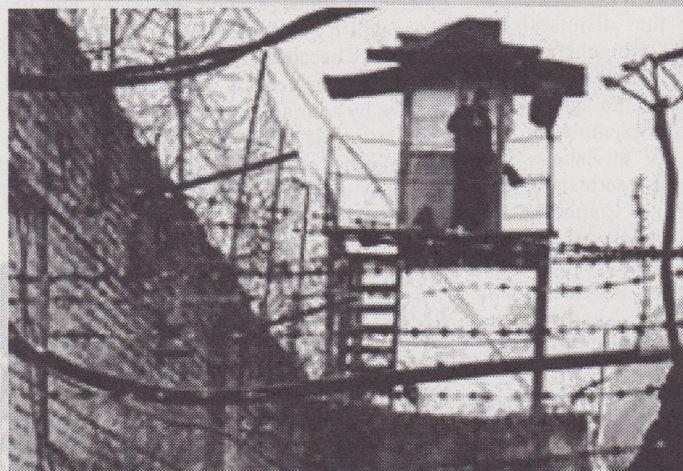
## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



# PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

## PRISONS FOR EVERYONE

### POLISH GOVERNMENTS GO US-WAY - CONSEQUENTLY INCREASING THE NUMBER OF PRISONS AND PRISONERS



Currently the situation of prisoners in Poland is very hard and it tends to be getting worse. There are a few reasons for such bad condition. First of all, most of the penitentiaries are overcrowded which is the result of, on the one hand, the severe law and, paradoxically, of the ineffectiveness of the Polish judiciary. Why ineffectiveness – well, most of the imprisoned are petty thieves, people sentenced for not having paid alimony or having caused car accidents. As in Poland the system of alternative penalties (like giving victims satisfaction, for instance) is still being created, the main penalty for breaking the so called law is to be put in jail.

The hypocrisy is the most clear in the situation of the people (mostly males in this case) not paying alimony. Usually they are unemployed so they don't have enough money to pay it. Thus, the authorities put them in jail, although they are the guilty, or at least responsible ones, of creating the system where one fifth of the society in the productive age is unemployed. The same authorities prefer to pay 1500 zlotys (around 400 euro) for one prisoner per month than to give the money directly to a woman who has to bring up the child/children alone. Suppose that such prisoner is released after

a year. As an ex-prisoner he has even more difficulties in finding a job so after some time the situation repeats itself, he is sentenced again. However, this time he is treated as a habitual criminal who wasn't able to "learn" anything after his former imprisonment so this time the penalty is even bigger. I don't want to be misunderstood, I'm not defending people who use to procreate children and after their births assume that they are not their problem anymore. I mean the poor ones who are in jails because in their hometowns, being employed is the rare luxury and in Poland such towns are not in a minority.

As prisoners are also people who learn fast, they realize that they have some rights, too. When almost all penalty institutions are overcrowded, which is against the EU rules defining exactly how many meters should fall per prisoner, more and more of the imprisoned sue the Polish authorities for breaking their civil rights in the high court in Strasburg. Since the authorities started losing the trials one after another, the new minister of justice, Zbigniew Ziobro, has announced his plan of building new penitentiaries. The majority of them are planned to be private institutions.

The minister presents himself

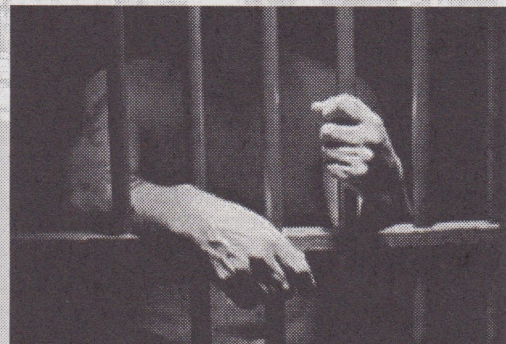
in the media as the one who is going to get rid of criminality or at least to start strongly counteracting it. The harsh argument between him and the liberal part of lawyers and criminologists started when he wanted to put into life the US model of fighting with criminality which is apparently close to his ideology and could be described by the slogan: no tolerance. No doubt that when he manages to realise his plan, there will be much more prisoners in Poland. However, even now, not everyone has his own plank bed in jail, the "new comers" usually sleep on mattresses on the concrete floor. Libraries and gyms have already long ago been changed into cells. Let alone the access to physicians, psychologists or psychiatrists. In one of the penitentiaries a psychiatrist started his practice once a week. Immediately 400 out of 1200 of the prisoners enrolled for seeing with him. If we assume that during his working time he is able to talk with 5-6 persons we can imagine when he meets the last ones on the list. Once I heard the story of a man sentenced for smuggling drugs. He was imprisoned in Denmark where he had his own cell and possibilities of work and education there. Yet, he decided to execute the rest of his sentence in Poland hoping that it would be easier for him. After a few weeks he had to be taken to mental hospital.

Surprisingly, in spite of the disastrous conditions, there have been no strikes in Polish prisons for many years. Probably the reason for such a situation is the fatal fame of the last strikes

in the beginning of the 90s when the prison society felt disappointed with the amnesty. Two strikes from those times were extremely brutally crushed and repressed. There were fatalities and most of the prisoners who took part in the riots were later tortured. One of my friends who has spent two years in one of the Polish jails has said: "I used to talk with men who look "bad" enough not to try any troubles with them and those guys, tortured almost to death after the strikes, were scared even to raise their eyes in fear of possibly seeing one of their oppressors". For a long time the incidents have been tabu in Poland. Only recently you can speak more openly about the revolts and the later repressions.

It doesn't mean that there are no riots at all. This year there were two short riots in the correction centres for juvenile offenders. They protested against bad treatment. Groups of youth attacked and beat their supervisors, then barricaded themselves in some rooms which they demolished and burnt. Further resistance was abolished when the police came to help. Leaders of the two protests are waiting to be sentenced for leadership of a revolt.

**Zbyszek  
Warsaw – Poland**



# PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



**PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT****"STYROFOAM" CRIME OR SOLIDARITY ON BOTH SIDES OF THE WALL.****MEMORIES FROM THE PERIOD OF INTERNMENT DURING THE STATE OF WAR IN POLAND IN 1981.**

I was finally packed for the Orbisi "holiday" trip to Turkey. Most of the space was taken up by the fur from rabbits that I had smuggled from Czechoslovakia some days before. By Christmas I should be back with attractive presents that you couldn't get either with food cards or under

of the big rooms of the MOii headquarters it resembled a general meeting of the local "Solidarity". I felt much better. I knew most of the people except some doubtful guys among us who pretended they weren't overhearing. In turn we pretended that we didn't know each other and we were talking mostly about the weather and..... Siberia. After a few hours we were put in the prison vans and the adventure began. Luckily the travel was short, our internment jail was just a regular prison barrack. There were some still warm

started fighting for our rights: leaving the cell, firstly for an hour a day, later the right for being on the corridor even for the whole day, then one-hour-walks per day, letters (censored), evening tv-news, family visits. We had good relations with other prisoners who also started using our illegal, yet effective, way of communication with the outside world.

Our biggest success was the right for receiving parcels that we used to get from various charity organizations, directly, or through our families. Thanks to the parcels we could go on hungerstrikes in order to gain our another claims. For the penitentiary administration hunger strikes were the biggest threat. For their supervisors it was proof of their ineffectiveness and inability to have everything under control. From time to time, just to prove they controlled the situation, they would take some of us and put them in another internment jail. Yet, they couldn't take all of us, at least that's what we were thinking.

We were still "suspended" with no trials and verdicts but after the New Year (thus after a few weeks of imprisonment) they started releasing us. Unfortunately the new ones were coming - from other prisons or newly captured. From the beginning we had to be careful with the "plants", especially when the rotation began. In spite of this, we knew whom to talk to and how to talk (we were well prepared by the security service since they were watching us from the foundation of the "Solidarity"). Everything

was functioning so good that we could successfully organize the political underground.

Soon before Easter it was my turn. I was released and "free" and I didn't know what to do with myself. In our "internment world" everything was clear and already checked. Now it turned out that on the outside, changed by the state of war reality, freedom is just a bit less limited than there inside. Instead of the bars there was the curfew, in the shops there was not much more than in the prison shop and definitely less than in the parcels we used to get. Charity organisations didn't care about me anymore but the secret service did. I knew the people but I didn't know for whom they were working at the time. At work also some problems started because I was a "threat for the state's security" and I was on parole so I could be taken away again anytime. This time the conditions could be even better because as a reoffender I would be treated as a regular criminal. I would have the



the table in "pre-war" Poland.

After a plentiful dinner I was drinking the "voltage tea" (the spirit was unobtainable so I drank it with vodka that I bought with the food cards). In a moment I was to get the last bus to the train station in order to catch the train to Warsaw from where I was to fly to Istanbul.

I was putting my clothes on when the doorbell rang. On the doorstep there were three "dog" smelling undercover with gloomy faces.

Marek, somebody broke into the bank (I was working in the National Polish Bank). You will go with us as you are the leader of the bank "Solidarity".

The doors were open so it was just an excuse for in front of my wife and children. As soon as the doors closed, when we were still on the stairs, I was informed about the real reason of the arrest: "you threaten security of the socialistic state and for the safety of the public order, according to the §....., decided to be interned ...blah...blah

When I first landed up in one

food left there, it must have been emptied a short time before we came.

The everyday life in prison, like anything else, had for us some good and bad sides. Good because they didn't really know what to do with us. Thus, we took the initiative from the beginning and started negotiating..... the conditions of our detention. Bad sides - because we were outlaws. There were no rules for us, neither the prison ones (we weren't sentenced), nor the arrest ones. We were "just" internees and nobody knew what it actually meant. The worst of all was the total isolation from the world outside - no contact with families, lawyers, no radio, newspapers, tv. We were all the time locked in the cells- no visits, walks, no shopping in the prison shop.

However, the world outside insisted on contacts with us. We found out about the fact and it motivated us a lot. We started organizing ourselves inside: contacts with other cells, barracks, prisoners, with the outside. At the same time we



right to trial and sentence and I would be back in the well known internment prison reality. All the rest, the state of war, couldn't last forever and they would have to cancel it someday.

I couldn't decide what to do so I entered the underworld. It was even more interesting than in the prison. Together with a few

**PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT**



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

people we used to publish the weekly, local, underground paper. We managed to keep the publishing cycle. My typing-machine in the basement interested the "respectable" service so much that later on I used to write my texts in the bank (at my work). Our opposition structures were still important for them. I began to threaten not only

the state but socialism in general when I was mocking the absurdity of the system and quoting Lenin's works with my own comments on the "war" socialism.

Of course we didn't forget about our interned friends. Even the fellow screws asked for our paper. Actually we almost managed to blur the differences

between the internment and the freedom of the state of war but unfortunately:

1. "our" prison got closed and everybody was taken to some other penal institution;
2. the state of war was over and everybody could be "free";
3. the "socialism" was over, leaving the whole society to exist in the reality of neoliberal,

barbarian capitalism...

**Marecki**  
**AbolishingBB**

### NOTES:

- i. Orbis was the only, state travel office in Poland in those times
- ii. MO – the Polish police from those times

## ...AND NOW SOME NUMBERS...

Here we present some statistics on the number of inmates within most of the Eastern European countries.

We thought it would be a good idea to collect some information and concrete facts about population numbers etc., but doing so we couldn't use any anarchist or even lefty resources (as we said before, they are scarce), so we had to rely on governmental sources found through an internet search.

Even so, this is the only way that we could present here this info that we believe could be interesting for everybody, in order to have an overview on prison population and so on within the wild east: some numbers are even dated from 2005, some others (Belarus, for example) no later than 1997; some numbers are amazing, like the prison population of the Russian Federation and the high number of its prisons, or that Hungary apparently has the highest percentage of occupancy level (it means they are packed with people).

Then, of course, bear in mind while reading these numbers, that these are just numbers from official statistic, so don't take them as 100% sure: reality is generally much worse!

**Your ABB crew**

### LEGEND:

- ★ "The Prison Population Total" includes pre-trial detainees and remand prisoners.
- ★ "The Prison Population Rate" is calculated per 100,000 of the national population.

- ★ Under "Number of Institutions" go not just prisons, but also institutions for pre-trial detainees etc.
- ★ The "Occupancy Level" is clearly based on the official capacity.

	Prison Population Total	Prison Population Rate	Pre-Trial Detainees / Remand Prisoners
Albania	3,491	111	24.2%
Armenia	2,879	89	26.2%
Azerbaijan	18,259	219	10.8%
Belarus	52,500	532	19.2%
Bosnia & Herzegovina	1,539	59	17.4%
Bulgaria	11,436	148	18.2%
Croatia	3,594	81	30.1%
Czech Republic	19,207	188	14.8%
Estonia	4,463	333	23.1%
Georgia	8,644	202	50.6%
Hungary	16,419	163	24.6%
Kosovo	1,199	63	42.0%
Latvia	7,238	315	32.7%
Lithuania	7,990	235	13.6%
Macedonia	2,256	111	10.1%
Montenegro	734	108	38.1%
Poland	85,048	223	16.1%
Republic of Moldova	8,876	247	27.6%
Romania	36,712	170	14.2%
Russian Federation	828,900	581	16.9%
Serbia	7,724	93	23.1%
Slovakia	9,128	169	32.2%
Slovenia	1,171	59	29.1%
Turkey	54,296	76	47.7%
Ukraine	170,057	364	20.6%

## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

	Female Prisoners	Juveniles/Minors/Young Prisoners	Foreign Prisoners
Albania	2.9%	1.0%	0.4%
Armenia	2.8%	1.3%	1.8%
Azerbaijan	1.4%	0.3%	2.5%
Belarus	6.6%	3.6%	3.4%
Bosnia & Herzegovina	2.5%	0.7%	3.5%
Bulgaria	3.4%	1.3%	2.2%
Croatia	4.4%	0.9%	6.4%
Czech Republic	4.7%	1.0%	8.3%
Estonia	3.9%	2.0%	36.4%
Georgia	2.4%	1.3%	1.6%
Hungary	5.8%	2.7%	4.2%
Kosovo	2.1%	5.0%	
Latvia	5.8%	2.7%	0.5%
Lithuania	3.3%	1.8%	0.8%
Macedonia	2.3%	1.4%	6.5%
Montenegro	2.5%	1.4%	6.1%
Poland	2.9%	1.3%	0.8%
Republic of Moldova	4.8%	2.2%	2.2%
Romania	4.7%	2.2%	0.7%
Russian Federation	6.4%	2.5%	1.7%
Serbia	3.0%	2.8%	1.7%
Slovakia	4.4%	2.5%	2.9%
Slovenia	4.1%	1.3%	16.7%
Turkey	3.3%	2.7%	2.3%
Ukraine	6.1%	2.4%	1.7%

	Number of Institutions	Official Capacity of Prison System	Occupancy Level
Albania	13	3,291	106.1%
Armenia	12	4,065	70.8%
Azerbaijan	52	24,520	74.5%
Belarus	36	43,400	135.7%
Bosnia & Herzegovina	8	1,183	130.1%
Bulgaria	13	8,738	130.9%
Croatia	23	3,004	119.6%
Czech Republic	35	18,438	103.7%
Estonia	7	4,366	102.2%
Georgia	16	8,317	85.3%
Hungary	35	11,400	145.1%
Kosovo	8	1,382	85.5%
Latvia	15	9,166	79.0%
Lithuania	15	9,444	84.6%
Macedonia	8	2,225	101.4%
Montenegro	3	670	109.6%
Poland	213	70,338	117.9%
Republic of Moldova	18	12,650	70.5%
Romania	45	37,393	98.1%
Russian Federation	1,045	960,066	79.5%
Serbia	28	8,885	86.9%
Slovakia	18	10,496	87.0%
Slovenia	7	1,103	102.4%
Turkey	446	70,131	77.4%
Ukraine	182	160,785	105.8%

## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



# PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



# PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

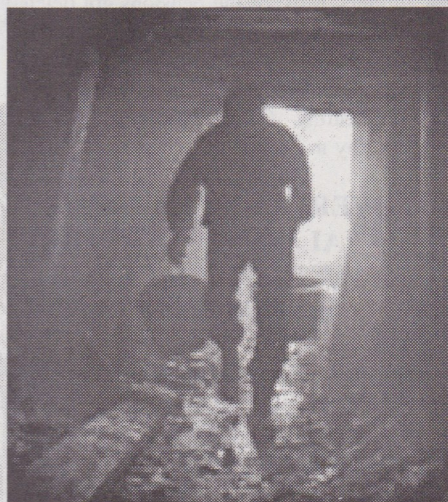


## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

### THE PRODUCTION OF CRIME AND MECHANISMS OF CRIMINALISATION IN SERVICE OF SOCIAL CONTROL AND EXPLOITATION

*On the example of "Biedaszyby" – a crises region in Poland*

## "CRIMINALS" OR "BARBARIANS"?



#### AGE OF "SLAVES" & "CRIMINALS" - AGE OF RECONSTRUCTED IDENTITIES

For a long time it was my conviction that I would never wish anyone to have to work in the coal-mines as I consider this kind of work as one that could be replaced, especially if the technology of the work reminds me of the late middle age, as it is just too much for a human being. Even more than that, I was quite sure that I will never in my life meet people who would ask to be locked in prisons and even want to have their families to be locked in with them. But no notion is stable enough when the reality is being shaped by the barbaric processes of neo-liberal capitalism having to their use instruments of state control. The most unbelievable contradictions can happen. For example your social identity can be completely reconstructed. For everyone around, you may be a friend, colleague, work-companion or neighbour, but for the needs of the system of exploitation and control your social identity may be reduced to a being a "criminal"; with all the consequences included. As it that would not be enough, more or less the same mechanisms will implicate in your personality the consent to be a "slave". Let have a look around us. On the one side masses of people take on the role

of slaves uncritically (by consciously taking decisions to work on conditions of slavery). On the other side there are masses of people which are not able to get rid of their "criminal" identity in the eyes of society. In fact, the millions on the earth are facing the same choice: should I go to be a "slave" or rather a "criminal"? And only a tiny spark of the dignity and natural instincts of resistance people cultivate in them, help to reclaim their social identity of friends, colleagues or just humans. This text will describe both processes: the one in which people are now made into slaves & criminals, and the second in which people maintain the enthusiasm of "resistance" and reclaim their primary identities; on the example of the situation in the Lower Silesia region in south-west Poland, (in)famous for the BIEDASZYBY, the self-constructed coal-mines under self-management. But we should keep in mind that this story is just an example picked up from a very global reality, a reality so visible nowadays in the region of Eastern Europe.

★ ★ ★

#### SETTING GROUND FOR EXPLOITATION

#### TIMES OF RELATIVE ABUNDANCE, REGULAR RESISTANCE AND PUNCTUAL ISOLATION

Walbrzych is a town of over 100 000 inhabitants, situated in the Lower Silesia region of Poland. For over 100 years it has been famous for coal-mines and its general rich mineral resources; but not only for that. In the times of state-capitalism/real-socialism this region was called a "Red Basin", and was an unofficial barometer of the mood among the polish miners. According to the relations of politicians involved in the government

structures in 70-90', this definitely smaller on of two polish coal-basins (except the one of Lower Silesia there is the much bigger and much more populated Upper Silesia with tens of thousands of miners) was causing much more problems to the authorities in terms of rising demands and resistance. Each time the miners in Walbrzych went on strike, the government was doing everything to hide this fact from the rest of the country, isolating the struggling miners. As well in the times of the Solidarnosc activities in the 80s, many of the over-regional strikes and radical protests of Polish miners found their beginning here, in the "Red Basin". These were as well the Lower Silesia miners who recognised and tried to oppose the treason of Solidarnosc-elites in the second half of the 80s. Again isolation was ordered so that the spirit would not spread among the "barbarians" country-wide...

In these times, even if hard working, even if facing serious health problems (as the state was still saving too much on work conditions and medical care) and even if being part of the industry causing serious ecological disasters in this beautiful mountain region (as the "communist" state was blind for environmental issues), miners and most of the people in this region were living in relative abundance; at least not afraid of their future. It may appear strange but in these terms an appropriate example is that the region was also famous for very successful sportsmen, in all possible disciplines. The prisons were quite full – mostly of those who did not comply with the uniformisation,



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

homogenisation, and with the restrictions on criticism of personal and political freedom within the current relations. Finally the region, because of its mineral-resources potential, was considered as rich, and everybody was conscious of that fact: common people, local authorities, authorities in Warsaw ... and obviously some other people as well!

### NOTHING IS IMPOSIBLE. GOVERNMENT MAKES THOUSANDS HEALTHY IN ABOUT ONE DAY ... WITHOUT ANY TRICKS FROM GOD!

These "some other people" are most probably those mysterious visitors of the city council in Walbrzych in the very beginning of the 90' about which people are talking here now, years later. However unclear the content of these visits remains, the occurrences which followed are clear like black coal one white snow. A piece of paper suddenly appeared explaining that the mineral resources in the region are running short. Stamped, signed, fact. There was no time and instances to verify this information – nobody was anyway used to closely examine what officials were stating: for 50 years, elites in power were the only ones to check and analyze everything. Some days later another surprise: if the resources are running short and the output of coal has no future the whole industry has to be closed. Stamped, signed, fact. The reasons why the polish coal-industry had to be put down ... why it happened so rapidly ... and why it started so radically in exactly this region - are very complex ones and have both economic and political dimensions. But 4 things can be stated for sure very shortly: these decisions were made behind closed doors; they were made by a very small elite; there was not even a shadow of consideration for the people, especially of the opinions of local people. Some people made huge profits from these decisions – obviously not the miners and their families. There were few miner-engineers who tried to oppose the move and conduct plans of modernisation of the industry to make it more effective without massive dismissals. Today we know that these plans were not only the most modern plans of the time around the continent, but as well that the process of modernisation was almost finished. The coal-mine "Kopernik" was almost ready to open, only a few more weeks were needed to start a mine that would have been new, safer and healthier for the miners, and more effective in output. In fact, these engineers were the first persons which lose their jobs.

Their plans disappeared for years. Miners, hundreds after hundreds, day by day, were welcomed at the doors of the mines with documents of dismissal. Altogether a few



thousands workers were forced to go.

The "Red Basin" could hardly react as the workers' structures dissolved too much in the period of enthusiasm caused by the overthrowing of "communism". These workers who started to organise the solidarity and protest actions, were the very next ones to pick up the tickets of dismissal. The next ones became more careful and paranoid. Families made pressure: stay cool, primarily we need you working and only then struggling, and not the other way round. Soon the families also recognised how wrong they have been: the obeying workers got the "tickets" as well ... just a few weeks later then their protesting colleagues. However, already on this level the first chains of solidarity between people got broken. The "Red Basin" lost its own spirit. After the coal-mines, industry linked to them, machine factories, manufacturing sites, coking-plants etc were closed, as their lost their reason of existence. Someone must have



been in a very big hurry here as the process was very quick. And who was it? - Old elites seeking for easy profits?... polish EU-protagonists? ... Leszek Balcerowicz (polish Finance Minister 89-91 and the author of the so-called "shock-therapy economy reforms")? ... All of them together? ... Some other actors ...?

Which alternative was offered to the people? - None, instead of the words that "after some time of harder transition

everything will be better than it was before". At least the miners with some years of probation in the mines had quite high health pension according to the high level of "wear and tear" of these people during their work time – one of the remains of the "communist times". But even this didn't last for long. The government follows the logic: if there is no existing mine-industry in the region anymore, there is no existence of a health danger, so there is no need for health-support for the (ex)-miners. Most of the pensions got deleted from one day to another. Ex-miners in Walbrzych were talking about the wonder: "The government declared us to be healthy. Officially we all became healthy in one day".

### POVERTY AND EXTREME SOCIAL CRISES HITS THE STREETS. THE LIFE FOR SURVIVAL BEGINS.

So in the second part of the 90s, everything that has been mentioned some lines above, which includes "Red Basin", resources, future plans, sportsmen, etc ... was gone. A spirit of resistance and solidarity between people are steadily decreasing. The life for survival begins. Most people don't know what to begin with. On the one side, they seem to be victims of their own dependence from the work – lack of work causes a lack of the sense of life (no other desires in perspective, no other options). On the other side, the coal and the mines meant more to these people than only a job and a basis of gain; it was a constant part of their lives, their spirit, their culture and their dignity. Omnipresent frustration took its place. And in Poland, unfortunately, the most popular medicament against all sorts of frustrations is alcohol. New aspects of "social life" started to fill up a day of the large ex-miners community. These are: the individual and collective collecting of scrap-iron, collecting anything else that could be cashed, the desperate search for any short-term jobs, prostitution, the self-production of alcohol and drugs and their distribution, formation of gangs and mafia structures (for example to make profits of prostitution and of the distribution of drugs), seasonal and one-way emigration, street-begging, "organising things", stealing different properties and robbing different kind of people, alcoholism, ... spending time and making social contacts in the arrest cells and in prison, and some more of these kinds of things.

## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

### GOVERNMENT COMES WITH HELP...

In the meantime, already the forth or fifth government since the "time of the wonders" speaks about working on solving the problems and about the better times coming soon. Programs on decreasing unemployment are introduced. The crucial one is the creation of Economic Free Zones - new investors will bring new workplaces with them. And they do. The new workplaces show typical slave-condition characteristics. Most of the ex-miners have no chance to get these jobs, even if they would like to work (mostly they don't because the jobs have completely nothing to do with what they have learned and what they can do). The jobs are mostly offered to young people, who are ready to take any job on any conditions just to not end up on the streets. New workplaces are not safe and in many cases people are dismissed after 1,5 year for no specific reason (what the workers and students in France fight against these days is normality here. Most jobs are so badly paid, that one can probably make more money by "organising" than one would get for a full time work).

In such a situation the choice between being an informal "criminal" or an "slave" is hard to avoid; at least not before the restauration of a more radical and collective consciousness of resistance.

★ ★ ★

### CRIMINALISATION

#### DIG OUT THE IDEA OF "BIEDA-SZYBY"/ "PAUPER-SHAFTS"

It is not first time in the history of this region that during an extreme crises people start to dig in the ground and put out the coal with their own hands. But in the second part of the nineties it happened for the first time that people started to put out something ... what was officially considered as having disappeared - as literally not existing! It started with the moment when - in the old archives - someone found 19th Century plans about the location of coal-loads. Officially they should already have been empty. But ... mistrust against the authorities is one of the strongest cultivated traditions in Poland. Some people just went and checked the places (coal-loads in Walbrzych lie just one to a few metres below the ground). Whenever they made a test they found a piece of coal! Some weeks later the map was copied in conspiracy

in big numbers, distributed within the communities and ... the self-output began. Brigades of 3 to 6 men were formed and people start to dig - at first next to the old mines. This form of primitive self-output had already been called "Biedaszyby" in the past, which means "Pauper-Shafts". Coal was everywhere - especially where it was supposed not to be! In a short time the number of people involved in this primitive output ("Biedaszybniks") reached 2-3 thousand. It was 2002/2003. Most people were doing it for their own needs, the needs of their families, relatives and neighbours. Some organised the work better and even made some relative profits. In this way, the people undertook very hard work, but at least they found a way to survive and by doing exactly what they can do best: "mining" for coal.

#### STEAL EVERYTHING THEY HAVE AND WHEN THEY START TO TAKE IT BACK CALL THEM CRIMINALS...

The news spread around the entire country (and even to neighbour Czechia): the cheapest coal can be bought directly from the miners in the Walbrzych region! Transporters from all over the Poland were picking up the "non-existing" coal. In Poland most of the population is living on reserves, so everybody who depends on coal was interested to trade with Biedaszybniks. The state was automatically excluded from this specific work and trade market. The reaction of the authorities was typical. The old law was pulled out from the deepest cellar: everything what can be found more than 0,5 meter under the ground belongs to the state! Taking it away is an offence; the selling and trade of these goods is a crime. Around 2003/2004, the hunting of "criminals" began: police-rides, observations, confiscations, interrogations, confrontations with police

violence, threats, arrests, sentences, fines ... In the years between 2003 and 2005 over 1000 cases of "illegal" output or "illegal" trade with coal went to the courts; all against



t h e Biedaszybniks themselves, their families (involved in the trade) and their clients. In March 2006, on the schedule of the local court, one can hardly find a particular day without at least one case

connected with this activity. But people are desperate; they don't want to join these colleagues which already became alcoholics or are homeless, or those which began to rob others in order to survive. "If you don't allow me to do this work, please put me into prison. There, I can at least get a warm meal, a warm shower and spend the winter under a roof. But I obligate you to take care of my family during this period, and if you can not guarantee it, lock them in together with me!" - This kind of declaration could be heard from the mouths of the Biedaszybniks again and again during the court processes - especially during the winter.

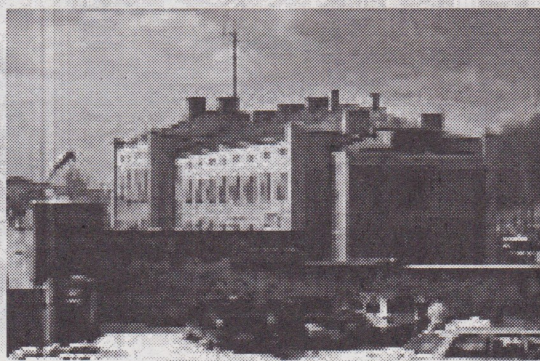
The repressions made the work even more dangerous; people started to work faster and under stress in order to limit the chances of being caught. Work often took place in the night and in less adaptable locations but in places where the police-rides were easier to avoid ... many times in the middle of the city,

in the gardens, under the buildings ... Many more experienced minors got scared due to the repression or they already found themselves in prison. It means: younger members of communities,

which never had an opportunity to really learn these specific work-skills, were forced to replace them. As well more women and some children got involved in the working process. And accidents increased. 5 deadly victims until March 2006.

#### NARROW-MINDED LOSERS

At the same time local elites use all



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

accessible means to glorify their politics. They proudly present that the unemployment in Walbrzych decreased from "50% to 40%" or so, in last 2 years. Of course they did not admit publicly that this "decrease" mostly consists of the following facts: there is massive emigration from the region; most of the people with work do the temporal jobs, without safety and on a minimal salary; young people do not even see a sense to register themselves in the (un)employment-office; in most statistics the imprisoned people are not considered as unemployed. On the question why most of the ex-miners still remain without any work they have one answer: it is their own fault, they are narrow-minded losers who are not able to adapt themselves to the new needs of the market... Or maybe just people who, against all odds, still have some dignity in themselves in contradiction to the majority of the young generation which already grew up in capitalist circumstances and do whatever "the market" wants them to do...

### "CRIMINALS"? ...

So we are talking about several thousands of people which got brutally cheated, pauperised, brought to desperation and – in order to keep their anger and any sort of collective reaction - criminalised. An army of thousands of people is reduced to "criminals" and narrow-minded losers, kept under control by "law and justice", isolated, alienated and almost deprived of a spirit of dignity which was so vital in this region 10-15 years ago. Along with dignity, the people have lost a spirit of solidarity and resistance. So how do these "criminals" live their "criminal lives"? They live from what is available around them; for example coal. When the state decided to break them down, and the output became to be too dangerous (in the years between 2003 and 2006 the number of the Biedaszybniks decreased from 2000-3000 to about 300) they started to take everything around that can help them survive another week. Many earn money in countries far away. Many women were forced to work as prostitutes. And many are not able to live and act in social ways any more and they commit cruel things which are hard to justify but are deeply rooted in the circumstances these people live their lives in, destroyed by poverty and everything that comes with it: depression and more serious mental problems, physical illness, addiction... But then, the law knows just one term for all

of them: criminals.

### ...OR "BARBARIANS"! (SELF-ORGANISATION TO DEFY CRIMINALISATION)

But behind this construction of "criminals", more pleasant "creatures" are hidden - disguised in the very same people. One just needs to take off the glasses of state-



logic to discover our resisting "barbarians" there. If anyone of you people, people about which I am writing here, feel offended by being called this way – believe me: there is only pure sympathy, respect and hope (so difficult to awake nowadays) to be found in there. "Barbarians" means people, reacting and resisting in the complex-less, unpredictable, often spontaneous (to not say "natural"), sometimes explosive, sometimes even enthusiastic way; resisting various



mechanisms of oppression with huge impacts on their lives – be it the indirect but truly barbaric impact of the processes of capitalism or be it very direct effects of state mechanisms maintaining the false notion of democracy. "Barbarians" in large restores their wealth in the most direct way.

As it was mentioned, Biedaszybniks have already started before from the point of: Don't believe anyone in power! And they proved e.g. that the talks of the officials about non-

existing loads of coal are pure lies. They organised themselves to work by output. They shared some machines (later stolen by the police), some transporters (as well stolen). They support each other with knowledge and skills of where to find and how to put the minerals out. They organised horizontal structure of work in brigades as well as teams of specialists to control the safety conditions of the self-made shafts. They created distribution and trade of the coal, health-service in brigades, and support for those which cannot be involved in the process of output (e.g. imprisoned persons) and for their relatives. They organised self-defence structures against the police rides ...

But some of the Biedaszybniks went even further – they started to organise beyond the workplaces: they create the Association "Biedaszyby" in order to reach more attention for the problems of the region. They started the conscious work with the mainstream media as well as developing some own media activities (making video documentaries about their daily resistance). They have begun to take a more conscious approach towards the repressions – educating themselves in terms of law, defending themselves during the court, and spreading a spirit of self-confidence among their colleagues.

Then the Biedaszybniks began to participate in social gatherings, protests and confrontations: they appeared a on series of workers conferences all around Poland and in Germany, they organised some massive manifestations in Walbrzych, as well as participated in wider social protests, be it alter-globalists and anarchists marches against the summit of the European Economic Forum in Warsaw (2004) or in general protests of polish miners as well in Warsaw (from time to time).

More, their began to make their local demands more concrete, formulated them in the form of some postulates, set a campaign in order to push them forward, confront the local authorities with them and finally, they even developed some very concrete proposals for social programs to solve the problems of the region, programs to be conducted and controlled by the people themselves, including e.g. ecological re-cultivation of the post-output terrains. Last but not the least, these "narrow-minded losers" and "criminals" have already established international contacts with groups and movements - and are very open for more.

## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT

### SO HERE IS THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION OF CRIMES AND THE CRIMINALS

The last two decades of the history of the city of Walbrzych and the short history of existence of contemporary Pauper-Shafts show the role that the concept of "crime" plays in today's world very well. Everything begins in the unjust social system which creates underprivileged and over-privileged people. Underprivileged people are finding themselves in the position of having minimum influence on decisions concerning their lives. Over-privileged people, whatever "good intentions" they declare to have, will always see to it that there is a functioning system of "law and order" to maintain their privileges. This system is not only at their service but they are as well the masters of "tuning" it to the way they want it "to sound". It means that they are deciding what is and what isn't a crime, and about the whole technology of how this system works. At the same time a huge amount of people remain deprived of some privileges, mostly they will be discriminated economically or politically but the world knows enough other forms of discrimination. In case of the Biedaszybniks, they were already discriminated economically and politically by the "communist" elites, and as effect of their underprivileged position they were completely ignored and ultimately degraded on the arrival of neo-liberalism.

Yet, however "democratic" would be the face of the system of "law and order", it not only allows those in power to maintain the existing statues quo, but as well to successively exploit the underprivileged. Exploited people sooner or later will reach the point of desperation and start to act in spite of the law; they will be punished for that, because the law stands here for "justice" so the real existing injustice can be only repaired in the framework of this fictitious justice (the law). The longer such system exists then the more the entire society adapts it's (absurd) logic. Even the most underprivileged and exploited start to accept it - they find themselves in this vicious circle: they are permanently breaking the law in order to survive, and at the same time most of them believe that the system of "law and order" is maintaining the justice. Additionally, with each next punishment they are becoming even more deprived through cruel imprisonment system and marginalised/alienated by the society which in the meanwhile has adapted as well the fear of the "criminals" and the "crimes", so that in its eyes the "criminals" are the worse "kind" of human. The more they are alienated ... the less feeling of social ties ... the more anti-social behaviours ... the

more punishments ... the more imprisonment ... the more depravation ... the more marginalisation by society ... the less feeling of social ties, etc., etc.

This way unfortunately entire society carries on the responsibility for maintaining this cruel circle, however the role of the executors (economic and political elites, bosses, judges, cops, prison guards, etc.) in this process is not only naive and passive (like most of the society), but very conscious and active, therefore of much more heaviness.

### THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING!

In this place the most welcome would be a presentation of the anarchist position of how to break the cycle of "crime and punishment". As the description of the complex problem of its dismantling would extend this text to at least the size of a pamphlet, I will leave it for now and do my best to convince the rest of the editorial collective of ABB to give some more space to this topic in the next issues. But except of providing analyses and concrete ideas of how to work in the communities on this issue, there is enough to do on the ground right now; for example in context of the "Biedaszyby" as well as certainly in hundreds of similar communities around Eastern Europe. Unfortunately, the long ago established contacts between the Biedaszybniks and polish anarchists seem to be asleep a bit today and this rather from the side of the anarchists than the Biedaszybniks. This has of course much to do with the number and variety of the social problems



and interventions in which this, in fact not very large, movement is involved. And again unfortunately, in today's Poland many struggling communities and social movements face intensive indoctrination and influence from some right wings organisations. In this sense, not only the general discourse about "crime and punishment" is being dominated by the right wing but as well the very practical work with criminalised, yet still resisting, communities is being lost.

The very possibility in changing these circumstances provides, paradoxically, the chain of processes against the Biedaszybniks. A chain which seems to not have any end for now. Anarchists, with their structures and experience should not only effectively support criminalised Biedaszybniks but as well restore the contacts for further cooperation. As there are hardly any anarchist structures in Walbrzych itself, it would be a challenge for the comrades from groups located not too far away in Poland, Czechia or in Germany. For now the situation in Walbrzych proves that the more consequently and consciously the "barbaric resistance" is, the more intensive the processes of criminalisation and marginalisation are.

**Veronika  
AbolishingBB**



## PRISON SOCIETY, CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST.PETERSBURG



### A CALL OUT TO PROTEST AGAINST G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA

In July 2006 G8 will hold its summit in St.Petersburg, Russia. G7 was created in 1975, for informal discussions on economic and political questions between heads of most powerful capitalist states. Russia joined in 1998 - it was accepted thanks to its nuclear arsenal and vast natural resources (in 2004, Russia was only 16th largest economy of the world; e.g. China was not invited to the club). G8 has no juridical status whatsoever, so it exists outside any democratic framework. But it still has become an important spectacle and platform, where top leaders of the world may look for consensus among each other, before imposing their policies on their populations.

We have no illusions about parliamentary democracy, we are against any governments. Current state of the world proves all too well, that with a submissive mainstream media spreading anti-terrorist hysteria, powers are yet able to submit their citizens to policy of war and destruction. Russia has been one of the forerunners of these developments, with an endless war in Northern Caucasus and suppression of independent media.

We are anti-capitalists; and we do not have any illusions about national capital as an alternative to global one. Small diplomatic skirmishes between major powers in regards to North Caucasian and Iraq wars were quickly settled, and essentially all G8 states give at least passive support to policies of each other. Solidarity between elites passes any borders, so our solidarity must do this as well.

Whatever labels media put on us, we are not "anti-globalists". We are for a free flow of people, ideas and struggles - across any borders. When G8 leaders claim to fight for freedom, they are fighting for a freedom of capital accumulation - according to which nuclear waste must have freedom to cross borders into Russia, but people must not have this right. G8 leaders also claim to fight against poverty, but in reality it is their policies that cause poverty in the first place. Moscow has more billionaires than any other city of the world, while vast majority of Russian population has profited nothing from the politics, declared to be aimed at "economic growth", which in any case will last just as long as there are natural resources to be looted. In contrary, it is the very poorest who have been targeted with the neoliberal reforms, such as revoking free social benefits and rising prices of communal payments, which is connected to the plan of Russia joining the WTO.

We call for protests all around the world during G8 summit in St. Petersburg.

We also call for a global convergence to St. Petersburg in time of the summit - attention of the whole world will be directed to spectacle of the G8, and we must show that they will be met with protest anywhere they will go!

We are everywhere!

*Network Against G8 (Russia / ex-USSR)*

**14.07.2006  
GLOBAL ACTION DAY**

**15.07.2006  
KICK OFF  
IN ST.PETERSBURG !**

**FROM 16.07.2006 ON...  
JAIL SOLIDARITY PROTESTS WORLD WIDE  
AND MORE ACTIONS**

## G8 SUMMIT IN ST.PETERSBURG



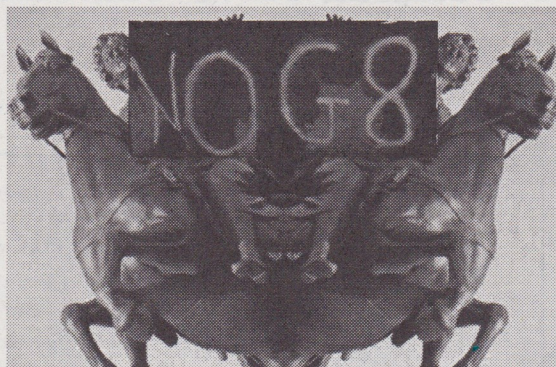
## G8 SUMMIT IN ST.PETERSBURG

### NETWORK AGAINST G8 (RUSSIA / EX-USSR) - BASIC PRINCIPLES

Network Against G8 is an initiative created for resistance to the G8 summit in Saint-Petersburg in Summer 2006.

1. The initiative is aimed against the states, current dominating economic system and all forms of oppression.
2. For the participants of NAG8 any discrimination on basis of race, nationality, gender, sexual orientation and age is intolerable.
3. We make decisions by consensus. In case of lack of consensus on some questions groups of NAG8 participants may make their own statements and actions not contradicting these basic principles.
4. During the preparation of protest actions we are not interested in cooperating with organisations aiming at taking power.
5. We approve of any methods of resistance, if they are aimed against the rulers but not against the people of G8 countries. Any member of the network is free to choose his / her own tactics.

Contact (in St.Petersburg): nag8spb@mail.ru



## ACTIVISTS' MEDIA AGAINST G8 SUMMIT

By Media-activist (Russia)



While media-activists preparing for the counter-summit there are two main problems to be solved. How to inform wide public

and tell about the alternative point of view on Russia's leadership in G8? How members of different initiatives can coordinate their movements before the summit and, what's the most important thing, while the summit is going?

A year ago group NoG8-2006 was created as a part of Dissent! At the Gleneagles 2005 summit this group held a solidarity action near the British council in Moscow; it was the first occasion to talk about the problems with G8 integration into Russia. At this moment NoG8-group is working with site [www.nog8.ru](http://www.nog8.ru) where they are going to collect and systematize international experience in global capitalism resistance and analyse the perspectives of Russia's collaborations inside the G8.

Group members also found volunteers for the collective translation of the book "We are everywhere" (<http://weareeverywhere.org>) using wiki technology and coordinating

translation in e-mail subscription. They are going to publish Russian version of the book before the summit and distribute it to all major editorials and personally to every mainstream journalist which is writing about the summit.

Indyvideo Network members (<http://indyvideo.ru>) are making subtitles for the special issue of the European News Real video-magazine (<http://newsreal.indyvideo.ru>) dedicated to G8 resistance in Scotland. Year ago with the support of the Ukrainian activists ([www.zaraz.org](http://www.zaraz.org)) they've made a translation for the "Fourth world war" movie (<http://www.bignoisefilms.com/4ww/index.htm>) which is widely distributed now.

A special screenings of these movies are planed in month before the summit starts.

Site [spb8.hardcore.it](http://spb8.hardcore.it) was created last fall right after the rising of the anti-G8 chain. It is located at the friendly [www.hardcore.it](http://www.hardcore.it) server: a platform for some activists' projects from Eastern Europe and ex-USSR countries.

SPB8 is developed on the free software basis. It is proposed that [spb8.hardcore.it](http://spb8.hardcore.it) will be used as a collective blog where any SPB8 member will have a possibility to create pages in any section of the site. And everybody can create comments on every page. This site will provide activists with information what to do and how to fight against possible repressions during the summit.

A resource media-center for activists will be opened in Saint-Petersburg in month before the summit starts. At this center activists can join workshops on making multimedia-content for web-sites (photo, video, audio), writing press-releases and communication with major media players.

\* \* \*



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST.PETERSBURG



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG

# RESISTANCE AGAINST G8 IN RUSSIA IS THERE ANY REASON FOR OPTIMISM?

By O2 (Network Against G8 - Russia)



### "GET YOUR ASSES TO EAST"

Our friend Alexei has already explained in the article "Get your asses to East" (AbolishingBB #19; June 2005) all main reasons to travel to Russia for anti-G8 events. May be Russia really is not similar to Western Europe but it's even more interesting. When I get possibility to travel a long way off my house I get cultural shock which make me to look another way to the events which happen at home. I'm happy to be again in usual atmosphere and reflect on my impressions for many months.

### CONSOLIDATION OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

What's going on in Russia (and ex-USSR area) now? I can tell mainly about Moscow because live there. The international preparatory meeting for G8-SPB, which took place in Ukraine gathered record number of people for last three years - about 60 people from at the least 6 countries. In spite of lack of culture of discussion we managed to talk over a lot of topics and found some important solutions. Preparing of counter-summit has brought up many acute questions more and brought together people who didn't want to cooperate with each other for many years. For example during three weeks we had a discussion (on the meetings and in the e-mail lists) on safety of participant of actions who are filmed by video-activists. It can hardly be said that all differences were settled but the process is going on.



### FIRST ACTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE SUMMIT TOOK PLACE

5th March in Moscow we made the second attempt to have a street-action against the politics of G8. The first one was made during the ministers of finances' meeting in February and completely collapsed. People discussed what they should do until the last moment, decision was made over-night and announcements were sent to journalists we know. But on the place of meeting with journalists activists were waited by 2 busloads of OMON. 5th March OMON also was on the place of meeting with journalists but activists providently took away journalists and moved to another place to make action.

The idea of action was to combine old pagan holiday (Mardi Gras) with protest against G8. People from Food Not Bombs distributed traditional Russian pancakes for free and leaflets about G8 politics. They planned also to burn a woman of straw ("Maslenitsa") but didn't have time for it. 30 minutes after beginning OMON found out action and started to arrest people. Mardi Gras is a celebration in Russia, distribution of pancakes and leaflets on the streets are not forbidden by law but nevertheless 12 people were arrested. The rest (about 30 people) managed to escape. Fortunately the detention passed without violence. This course of events is usual for Russia, nobody was panic-stricken. In general all arrests end after 3-10 hours spent in the police station and with a subpoena to court which you can ignore without any consequences. The next action is planed for 1st of April.

### PREAPARING ACTIVITIES IN MOSCOW

Two weeks ago we held the meeting of the Moscow part for network Spb8. We discussed the ideas of the meeting in the Ukraine and determined to organize in Moscow a preparing week with actions and meetings from 2nd until 13th of July. The idea of this week is to gather together activists from different regions of Russian and other countries and giving them an opportunity to communicate, participate in workshops, seminars, trainings and discussions. Obviously we will not have time for this kind of activities during the protests in St. Petersburg, so they should take place before. We are looking for a place for this meeting and invite everybody to participate to events of this week. Program is not ready yet but we have planned trainings and discussions on topics of nonviolent actions, mass-media and tactical media,

## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST.PETERSBURG

how to use law to defend yourself, first aid, workshops about making posters and banners, strategy of movement and other political discussions, as well as playing the drum on the actions.

### ANTI-REPRESSION STRUCTURES IN FORMATION

Anti-repression group has been launched. In Moscow there was a seminar on legal rights of protesters. Text with advice for foreigners and Russians is in preparation. I think rumors on dangers of traveling to Russia are highly exaggerated. Foreigner from Europe or USA is less in danger than any other person in Russia. Of course people may be blocked in the border, but that is the situation everywhere in prior to major protests.

### FACING TROUBLES, FASCIST, COPS ...

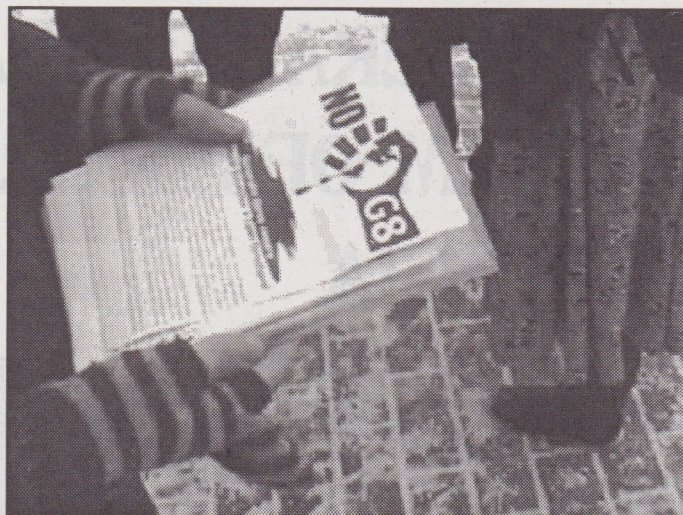
If you are not going around in Armani dresses, it is unlikely that you will be mugged - there are enough native yuppies in Moscow. Nazis do not attack against foreigners with European outlooks (although alternatively looking people may have trouble sometime). In case of arrest police tries to get rid of you as quickly as possible, even if you committed a minor misdemeanor (such as participation to an illegal action). They panic in case there is a risk of lawyers, embassies, journalists and international community to get involved and in this case try to do everything according to book of law. For sure, nobody may guarantee full security, sometimes OMON beats up arrested political activists, but with foreigners that is less likely. Try to make yourself any kind of documents to be shown to police, such as DIY press card of Abolishing the Borders from Below reporter (hmm ... hmm ... - editors), while engage with them to an active argument with your native language. That is often already enough to completely disorientate cops. All the information remaining concerning visas and juridical information you will soon find in internet in sites connected with the mobilization.

Some points other people of our movement wanted me to pass to AbolishingBB readers:

*1. We do not consider protests against G8-2006 to be business of Russian activists only. Our task is to prepare infrastructure and make decisions on technical questions - but demands of the protests we should formulate together. As we have declared "we are everywhere", we should also live according to what we have said. We plan to publish a booklet, in which we will include information on*



*red "we are everywhere", we should also live according to what we have said. We plan to publish a booklet, in which we will include information on*



*which kind of political groups and movements exist in Russia, how to deal with the police, how to move around in cities and so on.*

*2. Russian authorities and Putin have many times declared, that they are prepared for a dialogue with society, and there have already been several meetings between them and NGO's. These will of course be very formal ones. However, it seems authorities will worry about their image in front of West before summit and attempts to escape use of force. Thus we hope that it is possible to have some action in St. Petersburg also during very days of the summit.*

### SO WHICH KIND OF HELP WE NEED RIGHT NOW ?

In Russia, even big cities have no much of any activist infrastructure; it is even difficult to find places for meetings. During protests and build-up week we will have to create this infrastructure almost from nothing. We need some funds for this. In Russia, benefit concerts bring almost no any money. We also need articles on influence of G8, World Bank and other global capitalist institutions to social and political situation in Russia. It is necessary to raise awareness about G8 in Russia. We need translators from Russian and to Russian language.

### GLOBAL ACTION DAY

And we would of course be very happy if you could organize any kind of actions in your city (or village) during Global Day of Action, which is planned to take place 14th of July.

Sites of the mobilization:

Set Protiv B8 - Network Against G8:

<http://spb8.hardcore.lt/>

Wiki: [g8-2006.plentyfact.net](http://g8-2006.plentyfact.net)



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST.PETERSBURG



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG

# NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION AND REFORM OF EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

By Yuri A.



Most of the Russian people think positively about meeting of the heads of G8 countries in St. Petersburg, because it is a sign of "superpower status" which still exists in their mind. The ordinary Russian people do not quite understand the sense of the protest, if protests are motivated with logics such as "why a group of elite, not ourselves determines our lives?", since they have already become accustomed with this state of affairs. They need to know, what the real consequences for their day-to-day existence were entailed by the summits decisions.

As is well known one of the topics planned to be discussed on summit is education. Negotiations will concern measures to be carried out in the context of Bologna Process. Russia joined to this Process in September 2003. Most of "Bologna ideals" - rise of the mobility of students and tutors, simplification of enrolling to a foreign university, recognition of diplomas in all participating countries, autonomy of universities as a foundational principle are all good. But concrete consequences of their implantation into the educational system raise big doubts. Unification of education between different countries by introduction of common professional demands and examination units

(European credits transfer system) in force will lighten life of the bureaucrats and employers, not life of students and tutors. It is indicative that the initiative of Bologna Process came from state bureaucracy, not from academic community. The simplification of moving educational services and qualified personnel on the market isn't the same as improvement the quality of education.

For Russia, integration of the educational system to all-European standards is one of the conditions of affiliation to the World Trade Organization. Membership in WTO means the participation in General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), which open the road for commercialization of education as one of services. Due to lack of the trade unions and social laws Russian educational system meets liberal tyranny of

the state face to face. Aim of educational reform in Russia is to create an ideal market of educational services which European ideologists of neo-liberalism could not even dream about. Some examples:

The one aspect is moving into two-step system of higher education (bachelor's and master's degrees). This system is traditional for Europe but totally artificial for Russia. In Soviet Union students studied for 5 years and got the diploma of a specialist. As a result of reform substantial part of students will study only 3-4 years to get bachelor's degree and their diploma will be of much less prestige than before. Those students who would like to get a master's degree should pay for their education. They should have enough money or try to find a sponsor among employers. In that way the new two-step system worsens the quality of education and divides students into privileged and non-privileged according to their financial capability and current market conditions.

The reform proposes something like this for the secondary school as well. A basic curriculum, for which a budget financing is guaranteed, will be greatly reduced, but at the same time, special courses requiring payments will be introduced at the higher grades.



G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



The regional technical schools and colleges will be supported from the local budgets only. This means closure of the most educational institutions in the Russian province, because they survive only due to federal subsidies.

Reform also includes invitation of employers not only to financing, but also to planning of educational standards. Thus contents of the curriculum will not be defined by demands of the society as whole, but by needs of the corporations. So main goal of the educational reform in Russia is to completely submit system of education to demands of the market.

So what may be our position? Education should have a value in itself. It provides society with cultural reproduction, forms an intellectual framework in which new projects and concepts of the development are formed. Education can not and should not prepare only narrow specialists, who provide new cadres to administration of the state and economics. Total capitulation of education to market will result loss of this central social resource. There will be nothing more to put against reproduction of the market relations.

How we may oppose attack against education? For sure, for anarchists it would be strange to demand increase of budget spending. But in another hand, there would also be a certain sense in this - after all, state coffin is filled as a result of looting local communities and individuals, and even if it is violently formed, it is a "common stock". So it would be completely logical to give powers the following condition - if state gives up its responsibility to support system of education and passes it to private sector, citizens who are paying their education themselves should not be anymore required to pay taxes to the state. This same also holds with passing financial duties in regions to local authorities. For example Tyumen region, Yakutia and Hakassia, which are important producers of raw materials and thus crucial for maintaining state budget, could

not only take responsibility of financing schools and universities to themselves, but also to live completely in clover, without giving a single kopek to state coffin.

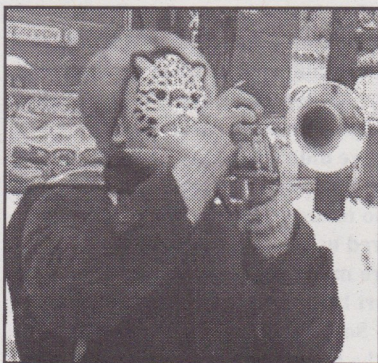
We must set up common unions between students and teachers, which would be totally independent from both state power and private capital, which could decide all daily wants of university administration and educational programs on their own. Only their wide cooperation with social organizations and initiatives would make defense of a real autonomy of universities possible.

For sure, in front of us there is a big task of distribution information on global resistance against world elite among Russian population, so that masses of Western and local activists would not be understood as a storm troopers of yet another "orange revolution", but as a part of an international movement opposing neo-liberal attack against their rights.

@@@



## MARDI GRAS AGAINST G8 IN MOSCOW



In ancient Russia Mardi gras was celebrated 5th of March, one of the rituals was burning of a puppet symbolizing winter, all misfortune and misery that had happened during the past year. Moscow activists decided to follow tradition, and to leave winter by burning a puppet symbolizing G8, which is one of the main instruments of

neoliberal policies keeping majority of the people on earth in poverty and misery. Goal of the action was to call attention of the public to global problems, which also touch Russian realities. Monetization of social benefits, hikes in cost of municipal services, privatization of the education and transformation of the country to a nuclear dump are all aspects of the neoliberal policies of the G8.

5th of March, around 2:50 PM some 40 people in carnival costumes and masks, drums and a container-load of blini (Russian pancakes) showed up in Novopushkinskaya square. In tradition of Food Not Bombs, blini were distributed free. Leaflets

against G8, on Food Not Bombs and against war in Chechnya were distributed. Besides Food Not Bombs, unaligned anarchists and people from Rainbow Keepers and Autonomous Action were involved.

Already one and half hours before action, three busloads of OMON appeared in place to where activists had invited journalists. First of the buses made it to action 3PM, but they attacked Food Not Bombs only twenty minutes later, when all Blini were already distributed to needy. OMON began grabbing people and beat up one girl. Altogether 12 people got arrested and slapped with misdemeanor charges, they were freed until 8 PM the same evening. In police station, arrested met with another group of arrested young people, who had planned to party Mardi gras by burning a puppet representing their boss - OMON had mistakenly arrested them as well.

Day before, there was an action day against reform of municipal services around Russia (planned reform means radical hikes to energy and water bills). According to Russian Indymedia, in Yaroslavl, 3000-5000 people blockaded traffic in center of the whole city, in Voronezh there was a fight with OMON and FSB, 15 people got arrested. There were also confrontations in Ulyanovsk, Yekaterinburg and Krasnoyarsk.



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG

### THE UNIQUE CHANCE TO INCREASE THE GLOBAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE LOCAL STRUGGLES INTERVIEW WITH ACTIVISTS FROM MOSCOW



*ABB: Has anything changed in terms of the preparation for the anti-G8 protests in SPB (St. Petersburg) during the last months?*

Tatiana: Yes, some things have changed if you compare it with the last year. Last year, although there were some discussions about the upcoming G8-summit in the anarchist movement, in fact not many people were interested in this subject at this point. So the first thing to mention is that now many more people are ... not necessarily already involved, but at least interested in the subject of G8. And not only the anarchists. For anarchists you can observe rising involvement especially after the first international preparatory meeting for G8-SPB which took place in the Ukraine some weeks ago. There were of course various meetings in Moscow and in SPB before this gathering, but the progress was very slow.

Then there are people from more or less left-wing movements who recently decided to set the Social Forum for this occasion. The exact plans are still not clear but they said that they will do it. And then there is

also the ecological spectrum and the human rights organisations which

show more and more interest in the G8-summit. So this quickly growing interest in the last months is the most significant change in comparison to last year. But there are not concrete results of this so far and not too many of good working groups, but at least the people start to focus on the subject. The only thing which seems to be clear is that there will be a Social Forum, however not yet clear where, if in St. Petersburg, if anywhere close to this city, or maybe in Moscow ... This decision will most possibly be taken at first in the end of April.

Concerning other spectrums, there is another kind of forum to happen, a more or less official one, the so-called Citizen Forum organised by human rights authorised agents, like for example the human rights commissioner of the Russian president Ella Pamfilova. She will organise this forum, which is at the moment on the schedule in Moscow (but it can be moved to SPB), for NGOs. As well some ecologists plan to deal with this Citizen Forum as it plans to make some declarations and hand them to the official representatives of the G8. It must be mentioned that this woman, Ella Pamfilova, represents the "good will" of the Kremlin to show its tolerance. So this NGO forum will probably be the biggest "alternative" gathering.

At the same time the people from the Social Forum don't want to focus only on the topic of G8 because for them this topic is not so important. They will probably discuss many different issues but which exactly is still not clear. And so far there are almost no discussions about the G8 itself there: What does it mean for Russia? What kind of position should we have?

And there is a problem of the resources there. Even if this Social Forum gathers many different human rights activists, leftists, communists or trade union activists, they will still have fewer resources to organise this Forum.

And finally there are the anarchists which are just starting to work out their plans. Here of course the lack of resources is obvious.

*ABB: If you already speak about the Social Forum ... what is your experience with the Russian Social Forum so far, and what do you expect from its side in context of G8-SPB?*

Ivan: So far our experience with people involved in the Russian Social Forum was not too positive. During last year's Forum, Marxists conducted some conferences and they tried to keep us away from having any influence on declarations which were supposed to come out of these discussions. However, we don't consider that we really need to make these declarations. So anyway, we didn't sign any of them. But at the same time, we were present on this gathering so to the certain point we could be considered us as a part of the decisions that were made there...

The short history of our relations with the Russian Social Forum can be explained as well in the following way. The Russian SF was inspired by the participation of Russian activists to Social Forums abroad, in Florence, Paris, London ... And from this very beginning we were facing the attempts of successively reducing the participation of the anarchists in it and therefore of our influence. For example, when there was a bus organised to go to the Social Forum, there were limited places for anarchist from the very beginning - let's say: 10 places. The next time there were



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



already two busses going, but just 5 places for anarchists. On the other hand, most of the anarchists don't really seem to be prepared. They don't want and don't see a sense of participating in Social Forums. In this point, we see this quite differently. We see this as a possibility to use the Social Forum as kind of legal platform. This is because we are not so sure if anarchists in Russia are able to set up any smaller or bigger action or conference only by themselves nowadays. So we can use the Social Forum as a space where we could reach a wider audience. The fact is that many people from the provinces which are coming to Social Forum don't really understand any difference between different political groups, like communists, anarchists or other options. They are rather involved in the protests connected with specific local issues, e.g. against housing reforms or others spheres of state politics. Most of these people don't present any political positions, they are undecided. But this is not a reason to ignore them. Actually, gatherings like the Social Forum are very good opportunities to get in contact with these new people involved in various social struggles.

Tatiana: During the last Social Forum for example, some anarchists' seminars took place and many of the younger people, not the older ones - for them we are not interesting - but many of the younger people came to the anarchists in the end. So we had a dialogue, the possibility to speak to them. We don't really have many other possibilities as we are not able to organise big meetings, seminars or conferences by ourselves and invite these people so that they could speak to the anarchists. Most of these people would rather never come anyway because most of them don't know what it is - this anarchism. But in reality it can be a very interesting thing for them, but so far it is a very strange option for them. So this is one reason why we consider the participation of anarchists in Russia in the Social Forums as an important attempt.

And the second reason why I believe it is important is because there are very different political streams active there, all these trozkists and so on, and they will always try to use these kinds of gatherings to win the new, non-oriented, mostly young people for their politics. So while being around, we can always raise a voice there and at least say: "Hey, you really want to work with the Stalinists? No, you should not do it". For sure we cannot change too much there at the moment, but at least we have the voice to say: "So you're gonna make this declaration with the Stalinists. Why?" and we can try to open their eyes for some things. And if our argumentation will be good enough they can start to think more critically. For me this is a very important aspect, because many people don't see these obvious problems - they don't really see what it means to work with Stalinists or even with fascists, even if in this case the consciousness is rather better.

*ABB: So nowadays, the anarchists in Russia are not ready to organise bigger events on their own. We would like to know what the main obstacles are - is this a lack of capacities, the repressions connected with such approaches or some other specific problems for the Russian movement?*

Tatjana: You know, there is almost no experience of the anarchists here in organi-



sing big meetings, and they even don't think that they need it. They are not used to think globally in a sense of asking themselves questions of long-term and wider-context character. This is the first but very important thing. For example, for many of them, to resist anything means basically to prepare the leaflets and spread them among the people. But in most cases they do not consider it important to discuss the problem deeper. Of course, there is lack of resources too, but there are not resources because people do not look for them as they do not see purposes for the use of them. Besides that, the anarchist move-

ment in Russia consists mostly of small groups at the moment. In most cases, although some common decisions are being taken, they will finally put the things to life the way as they want to do it - there is no experience of doing anything bigger together. So it is not easy to explain to people that sometimes it is important to join the forces. For example for this preparatory meeting in the Ukraine, much more people could come, as there are much more active people as were present there, but many of them did not come as they do not understand why it would make sense to discuss some things in the time before the summit, because their experience is that everything will be decided in the very end anyway.

*ABB: So maybe this is the right moment to raise a question: What goals of such protests in Russia do you personally see? Is it about fighting back the world-leaders, their politics and the political and social systems they represent, or is it more about building up the anarchist movement and awake the spirit of the social resistance among the people in general on that occasion?*

Ivan: Personally, I see the problem that these protests do not fit in with the specific interests of the Russian social movements and they do not even fit into today's existing logic of development of Russian social movements, the anarchist one and any others. So the people involved in the process of organisation of these protests are in the first line those who have already reached a different level and consider themselves as a part of international networks, so these are mostly anarchists or communist ... communists of different content within their communism. The people who know that their comrades abroad conduct the protests against the analogical events in their regions. So the feeling of international solidarity mainly influences them to organise some kinds of protests, conferences or social forums. But as I said, looking at the logic of internal development of Russian social movements it is something hard to understand. For common participants of local social movements, people who don't feel affiliated to any international context, for all of them it is hard to understand what G8 has in common with their problems. I think most of the population is satisfied with the fact that G8 comes to Russia, that Russia finally was inclu-



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG

ded into G8, that their country finally is as great as the other G8 members... This spirit is dominant not only among the population but even among the participants of the various social movements. That's why the protest will not be massive anyway. As I said, the consciousness about the influence of G8 on daily life is very low.

Yet, in Russia there are different political groups, anarchist or communists, which are trying to present the political views but so far without any special success. The channels of spreading independent political views are limited. The mainstream media are closed for them. In Russia there are no spaces for independent social activities so the cultural and political meetings, public discussions, info-events or lectures are almost not taking place; and if at all, than just in 2-3 bigger cities and that even only twice a year. In such situation you can hardly organise something big.

So if we take all of this into consideration, I now see only one positive aspect of mobilising against the G8 here. This is connected with the international context of the protests: if many activists from abroad will come to us and if the proper cooperation between them and the local activists will be achieved then the consciousness of the locals will rise, e.g. about the involvement of Russia in global processes. Because in the end, the problems are the same everywhere. As for today this understanding is missing here, however there is a chance that it can change when the international activists will get involved. If they will not get involved then I anticipate that the traditional logic will dominate for the next years. It means that understanding will remain narrow, because as I said before, most of the social movements here are focussing only on the local problems, like e.g. last year's protests against the monetarisation or this year's against the housing-problem, and they do not see their struggles in any wider nor global context.

Tatiana: I would like to illustrate on one example why for the people here it is so difficult to find any links between G8 and their local problems. This is connected with the level on which the decisions are being taken here in Russia. So we had the communal reforms a short time ago. For many people from different regions of Russia it meant a radical increase of the prices of rent, water etc. But the decision about the level of increase is in the hands of the concrete governors of regions or towns. So for example the Moscow governor, Lushkova, which has a very strong position, could go to the Kremlin personally and say that the inhabitants of Moscow can't pay much more as they pay now and he applied for money from the general budget. Other governors rather do not do it. So the local people will accuse them for everything. They consider only and resist only what is close to them, with the issues they are confronted with directly. By the way, the differences became very huge. For example in the Sacharin region people have to pay about three times more than the average price of rents in Russia, while in Moscow



which has a very strong position, could go to the Kremlin personally and say that the inhabitants of Moscow can't pay much more as they pay now and he applied for money from the general budget. Other governors rather do not do it. So the local people will accuse them for everything. They consider only and resist only what is close to them, with the issues they are confronted with directly. By the way, the differences became very huge. For example in the Sacharin region people have to pay about three times more than the average price of rents in Russia, while in Moscow



people pay even less than this level as they are getting some subsidies from the Kremlin because of the strong position of their governor. So this is just one example which shows where the problem lies; the problem of how to explain to the people the politics taking place on the international level when many decisions of crucial importance for the people are being taken by the local governors.

ABB: So what are than your ideas about how to link the G8-summit and politics of world-leaders with the daily problems of the

people in Russia?

Ivan: How to link these aspects I don't know myself. For me these links are not so obvious even if I have been involved in the social resistance for many years. Being honest, I don't know the exact power of the G8, what its real influence is, what decisions they are taking, and what streams of criticism are developed on an international level. This is all because there are hardly any materials and research papers on that topic in the Russian language, and I don't know any other languages...

Tatiana: For sure we will do some translations of the most interesting materials in English and German very soon, because there are really no such texts in Russian, about the structure of G8, its policies, decisions and the existing criticism. There is probably some more information about the WTO because this is easier to understand: if you want to become a part of the global capitalist system you have to be a part of the WTO and it means that some laws and regulations must be changed, etc. So it is easily possible to explain this connection. With the G8 it is more difficult. You know, this year they will discuss energy. Russia is the country which has a lot of energy, lots of oil and gas, so almost everybody here agrees that Russia must take part in these talks.

At the same time, in a historical context everybody considers Russia as a loser, as most international decisions nowadays are taking place somewhere in the west. But many people cultivate the memories of the strong state of soviet times, and even believe in a strong Russia as the only way to fight back the ruling role of the USA. So it is very difficult to argue against the G8 in this kind of atmosphere.

ABB: At the meeting in the Ukraine one of the Petersburg

groups proposed to put the issue of patents on medicaments on the agenda of the protests. Some people found this topic not only important but as well interesting exactly in the sense of linking the G8 with the specific local problems: in this way one could even redefine a bit the understanding of the official "energy-resources" agenda of the upcoming G8-summit and consider e.g. the medicaments and the popular access to them as the very "life-energy" especially for thousands and thousands of those living on the edge of death. This problem (AIDS, the other disease, and the introduction of the



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG

patents on the medicaments are a huge problem within the Russian society) can in fact be linked with the "energy-policy" of the G8. Another idea would be to simply focus on the distribution of the fuel-energy as well as on the distribution of the profits being made on it ...do you think that such an argumentation is the one which could help here?

Tatiana: Yes, the issue of AIDS is very good - this is a very important problem. It is just a small part of the whole discussion about G8 but exactly this is the point which you can explain. It may still be difficult, but possible. With the energy issue it is worse, because of the difficult position of Russia in there. You know, many people believe that Russia should control these resources ... as a state. Another point on the agenda is the issue of security and nuclear energy. In Russia most of the people are not against nuclear energy. So this is one of the problems of the ecologists, and one of the reasons why they will rather take part in this Citizen Forum organised by the Kremlin, as most probably there will not be any protests on the streets against nuclear energy, as people do not oppose it.

ABB: Did people in Russia not learn any lesson from Chernobyl?

Tatiana: Not at all. Most of them did not learn anything from it. In their mind a strong state is unthinkable without nuclear energy and you shouldn't forget that the breakdown of the Soviet Union after Chernobyl totally changed the life of almost all people. Last but not least, if you have the "choice" to work in a nuclear power plant or not to have a job and a legal income at all, you probably will choose the job, even if during perestroika there were a lot of big protests against nuclear power plants.

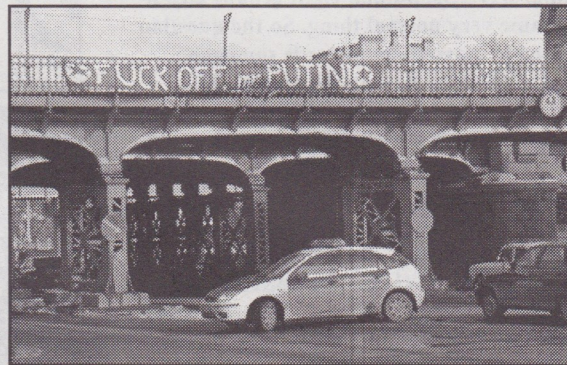
ABB: So how is possible then that this anti-nuclear-energy consciousness develops so slowly in Russia?

Tatiana: There is not any information on that. The people are told that there are no alternatives and that they are secure. Very seldomly there are some protests taking place against it in some regions, mostly when "Rainbow Keepers" organise them. These events are a possibility to talk with people about this issue and some of them show their criticism, but not many. In

Russia you have many regions where there is this nuclear plant and at the same time it is the main employer there and people don't want to lose this plant as almost their whole lives depend on them. You know, in Russia you don't think for eternity. You think for 1 year, 2 years, maybe 5 years. But you don't think what will happen in 10 years for example. You are living now, today. So all these discussions and decisions about security are too abstract for the people. What they want is their money to be paid today or tomorrow, but what will happen after tomorrow is not important.

ABB: Let's come back to the upcoming protests themselves. According to our information the Russian authorities have already started the first repressions against the anti-G8 movement in Russia. They disturbed first actions for example. What is to be expected during the next months? What should the Russian and international activists be prepared for? What are your analyses of these first measures of the Russian police?

Ivan: We are expecting similar procedures



as three years ago during the anniversary celebrations of 300 years of St. Petersburg when it started with preventive arrests of activists for all kinds of reasons, e.g. for swearing on the street, or so on. One or two weeks before people will be "eliminated" from public activities in order to avoid the physical presence of the activists in anything. No public spaces will be open for protestors - something that has already happened before. Until now these kinds of measures have been common in the province, now it is also practice in the capitol, and not only in connection with G8. For

example the year before when the protestors against the communal reforms were seeking for any space to organise themselves in the suburbs of Moscow - their convergence centre was closed and finally they were forced to continue their meetings in the tiny rooms of the editorial team of one small Stalinist publication. So you will not be able to rent any space. I consider it as impossible. It will be forbidden to owners of all possible spaces to rent

their locations to the "alternative people", and in this way any meetings "under the roof" will not be possible. Nobody will get permission for any street-actions in a period from month before until month after the summit. That is why I think that any legal sort of actions are not realistic. How far it is possible to conduct any big demonstration during the summit at all? ... I doubt this possibility as well, I doubt that it any "physically presence" will be allowed by the authorities. I doubt that it will be possible to gather many people in one place, even if they would try very hard to. I believe that they will try to identify and stop people in the subway or on the streets. For example not a long time ago in Moscow, they dissolved the Russian-wide gathering of a young Stalinist organisation; people were caught in the subway, etc. Something like that, as far as I remember, did not take place in Russia since 1987 when KGB stopped arresting people leaving their houses to go to protests. These practices were common till 1987, in 1988 they disappeared and in 2006 they come back. These are ... totalitarian methods which are being used again towards different political activists. So I can imagine that even the football hooligans will be used to frighten, beat up or make any revenge-actions against the activists. These actions may seem not to be associated with the police or with the authorities, as if they were independent initiatives. These methods are used e.g. against the NPB (National Bolsheviks Party) which is recently considered by the government as its main enemy. "Someone"



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG

attacks, beats quickly and runs away. In reality, everybody knows who these people are once the police has caught and identified them. But suddenly there was a call phone from the Kremlin directly and all of them were released. In fact they were fascist fans of Spartak Moscow who are rentable for money and conduct their activities together with Kremlins youth movement "Nashi" ("The Ours").

Tatiana: The police themselves got pissed off and made this story public. You know, the guys were just happy of their achievement and suddenly there is this call from the Kremlin telling: "release these boys".

Ivan: In revenge the police gave the names of the arrested to journalists. The police itself could not do anything, it was forbidden from above. So all in all ... we are awaiting all these methods to be used in the summer.

Tatiana: You know, the Kremlin has acted in the same way already for many years. They have some enemies, or kind of "enemies", they found different structures to deal with the problem. For example they found the "anti-fascist movement" because Kremlin wanted to demonstrate that there is anti-fascism in Russia. This Kremlin "anti-fascist" movement is called "Nashi". And they use them. And who will now understand who is anti-fascist and who is not, in such a situation, and they can put there enough money to make everything looks "authentic".

Then, the Kremlin has also created russian "alter-globalists". They are called "Mestnye" ("From here") and they are as well part of the "Nashi". And there is another kind of creation; it is a kind of student movement against globalisation. Small but they can use them already. They are called VAL (All-russian Alter-globalists League) and the Kremlin will use them for sure to show "yes, we



not against the government - they support the government, they support Putin.

*ABB: Can you give some more background information on this strange and for many people in the west quite exotic reality? We can imagine that our readers can be quite astonished in this place...*

Tatiana: Yes, that is very strange, but in Russia it is normal. And this creates another kind of problem for anarchists, but as well for all other "authentic" political groups and social movements. Namely, during the last 15

years, since Russian organisations have started to get money from western countries, from western foundations, a lot of protests, gatherings and so on were organised. In many cases, not in all but in very many cases during the 90s, the people who took part in these events were getting money for taking part in the demonstrations. The Kremlin does it for its purposes, but the NGOs are doing this as well. While in the west the activism has nothing to do with your job, you do it mostly during your "free time", in Russia for many people activism means the regular income and the job itself. Of course not within the anarchist movement but within the trade-unions, NGOs, human-right groups etc., it became very normal thing. So the question asked by passers-by towards someone distributing leaflets on the street "How much are you earning for that?" or "Who is paying for your activity?" is a very normal thing. So you can imagine how annoy-

ing it is for anarchists to be asked these questions and that it is very hard to convince anyone of the fact that you are doing these things voluntarily, without any profit, just motivated by ideas and believes. So this is the reality in which the governmental

anti-fascists and alter-globalists can be considered as something quite normal in Russia.

*ABB: Any signs of consolidation of the anarchist movement in Russia around the process of anti-G8-preparations?*

Tatjana: Unfortunately we left the city before the latest meeting so we can not

give the last update, but yes - quite few new people appeared around. It is hard to say how they will get involved in the wider context of preparations but they will for sure be active within their structures. The above mentioned meeting in the Ukraine made quite a good impression anyway but then again - it is hard to say what this consolidation will bring in terms of a long-term perspective. Just to stress this again: this is the first time here in Russia that anarchists conduct this kind of long-term mobilisation. The first mistakes already appeared, but we are learning. Activists are developing the feeling of stronger solidarity, learning about the necessity of specific security measures and of wider consciousness in general. The new discussions appeared. The question of resisting the fascist activities is the topic.

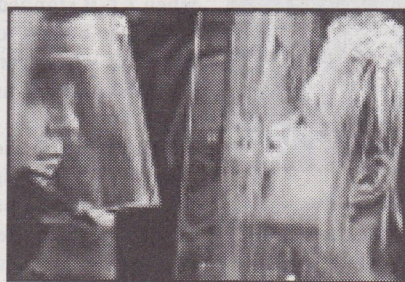
All in all, the movement has already made some steps forward, at least on the theoretical level - how it will influence the practical side is hard to say right now.

*ABB: Thank you a lot for time and willingness to explain all these specific issues. We wish you lot of "energy" in the upcoming months.*



### VISA

A standard tourist visa is sufficient to research in the Cinematographic archives, get a library card, sit around in posh hotel bars and most other activities related with the disruption of the G8. Do not molest your Russian friends to get personal invitations. They have more important things to do. Fake hotel reservations (vouchers) necessary for getting a tourist visa are available relatively cheaply. Most tourist companies deal with them on a professionalised black market. Take your time. Do not set the dates of your journey too tightly. Good preparation and follow-up of events in Russia might exceed your boldest expectation. Allow for time reserves. Start making the visa months earlier, best today.



have the anti-globalists in Russia!" But unlike in other places in the world they are



## G8 SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG



# THE BOLKESTEIN DIRECTIVE:

## SOCIAL DUMPING AND INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES

By Laure Akai (Warsaw – Poland)

The labour movement has found internationally, it seems, an issue around which to mobilize: the Directive on Services in the Internal Market, otherwise known as the Bolkestein Directive. The directive, which would remove barriers to the provision of services between member states, is most often criticized for its "country of origin principle". Under this principle, companies which are registered in any EU member state may not only provide services in any other, but also can employ workers to perform such services abroad remaining subject to the law of the country in which they are registered. It is feared that businesses will utilize this law to take advantage of less strident labour and environmental standards in countries with more relaxed standards. An inevitable race to the bottom is bound to occur.

### THE LISBON STRATEGY AND THE EROSION OF THE SOCIAL MODEL

The interests of business and labourers are bound to clash so long as the mandate for profit runs business practice. But just as investors, producers and employees strive to drive labour costs down, workers, particularly those in "developing" countries and other low-wage locations, strive to earn more. Those living in richer environments on the other hand are hoping to maintain their levels of affluence and stave off any further erosion of their living standards.

With the destruction of capitalism being an option that fewer and fewer are willing to propose, we are offered up a poor choice of scenarios, each replete with numerous inevitable problems. Some offer us national protectionism and a high level of state intervention in the economy, but this solution often obfuscates the fact that some levels of capitalistic attainment have been achieved through decades - even

centuries of the systematic use of capital, economic imperialism, economic and environmental exploitation. Others embrace globalization as an inevitability and urge us to answer its challenge by becoming "competitive". And then there are the fence sitters who wish to find some solution in-between, with some gestures towards global competitiveness but the retention of just a high enough level of protectionism to make sure that the state (and, more importantly, the corporations) won't be facing any social revolutions.

It is in this context that the European Union, dominated by some of the richest countries in the world, is confronted with the economic and political realities of not only the globalized world, but of a growing portion of citizens within its own borders.

Those governments clinging to "the social model" are in fact engaged in some sort of theatrical enterprise for, despite considerable political pluralism in the EU, it has long ago committed itself to eroding this model in favour of a more competitive, profit-driven one.

The Lisbon Agenda has been a plan in place concerning the future of the EU workforce for quite some time now, but the labour movement and the left missed the wake-up call; indeed some even welcome the strategy. (1) It has been misread due to capitalism's language of sedation: periods of unemployment are turned into attractive "career breaks" and having to leave your home to relocate for a job becomes a "freedom". Labour flexibility is needed to "create jobs" and "social partnership" means that they'll negotiate the slow erosion of your working conditions with trade union leaders and write some laws about "protection of workers" that will protect you from some nuisances - except the inevitable slide into the global struggle for competitive survival.

### BOLKESTEIN

If the language of the Lisbon Agenda was too misleading to set off many alarms, then at least the Bolkestein Directive has caught some people's attention. Mass protests have occurred in connection with it and there is an ongoing campaign throughout many European countries.

Unfortunately, the debate has sometimes taken on xenophobic and protectionist overtones, such as the noise about "the Polish plumber", which became

connected not only to EU enlargement, but to the Directive as well. This leads us to a number of questions, namely, what people propose instead and how the EU without the Directive would resolve the problems of labour disparities.

The first aspect of the Bolkestein Directive, the freedom of establishment, as been a business issue for 30 years already and has become a limited reality with the adoption of the European Company form of registration (SE) which came into force in 2004. With a SE, a company registered and operating out of one country (provided it has its physical seat actually in that country), can change its place of operation without liquidating the original company and re-registering. This issue of establishment has many limitations, including capital limitations, thus it does not extend to most self-employed entrepreneurs (like our friend the plumber), many of whom are also limited by regulations concerning the recognition of professional qualifications, etc..

However, it is the country of origin principle which presents the potential bonanza as it would allow employers to avoid such pesky profit-eaters as local minimum wages.

Proponents of the Directive are of course quick to point out that a country can employ numerous derogations. Articles 17-19 (in addition to allowing governments exemptions in areas such as postal and other services) allow governments to employ derogations for compelling reasons of public health, public security, public policy or environmental concerns. In other words, these economic "freedoms" can (and will) be selectively regulated by member states.

This doesn't mean that governments will use them, although it is likely that they will be seen, especially in areas with either strong protectionist tendencies or large militant labour unions.

Such measures, however, do not offer any solution to the basic problems of wage disparity, on either the global or the European level.

Proponents of Bolkestein also point out that one of the assumptions of the directive is that there will be certain harmonization in the EU in strategic areas. In other words, they claim that if standards in certain areas are harmonized, then the country of origin principle will not be an instrument to take advantage of lower standards. Only we can see no talk of concrete harmonization in





many critical questions; most often harmonization is spoken about in terms of debt collection, consumer protection, accounting standards and health care. And, even if the last might seem like a safeguard, the EU experience has shown that harmonized standards can actually lead to far lower standards in some countries. (2)

The one area where a revolutionary change could be carried out is in the area of wage harmonization - for example, an EU-wide minimum wage, and industrial standards. (The reason an EU minimum wage in itself is no solution and why industrial minimums would have to be employed is that, for example, you presently can find some experienced nurses and dental assistances from Poland working in North England for the minimum wage, which is not up to any industrial standards, is highly exploitative and is still driving wages down.) But this will never be proposed by the Eurocrats, nor is it likely to be proposed by certain segments of organized labour who doubtlessly predict that they will either be forced to negotiate down standards or, for some of the lower-waged workers, remove the one incentive people had for hiring them.

It begs then to ask which solutions are being proposed? Controlled labour market migration is the political solution de rigueur, but it is not only a one-sided solution, but also a basic violation of the principle of freedom of movement. I say that it is one sided because we hear all the time about how "X country needs qualified so and so" or "doesn't need" something else; the other side of the situation reflects a power relationship where the richer country can afford people like qualified doctors and engineers while the poorer suffers a brain drain. Ultimately, the brain drain and lack on progress on wage and living standards in one country will just exacerbate the problem.

Many of the anti-Bolkesteiners remain silent on that question. Like the early "anti-globalization" movement, it hopes to draw a wide segment of oppositionists into a coalition, and indeed it has. While the calls for "protecting" labour may seem noble enough, I'd like to ask who and what they envision the protecting force to be (although I already know it's the state). I'd also be interested in how the social model is to be exactly protected? By improving labour standards and levelling real wages throughout the EU or by closing off the workplace and service market to foreigners? Or do they expect governments to implement measures to force businesses in the EU to maintain high labour costs?

## A RADICAL PERSPECTIVE

When we perceive that an initiative will undermine the position of the average worker, we should attack it because each additional concession to capitalism is further consolidation of its power. Thus it is perfectly natural to rally around slogans such as "Stop Bolkestein" - but like most single-issue campaigns, even a victory would be a limited one because we have only prevented the exacerbation of the problem but not done anything to get rid of it. Furthermore, it is more than likely that if this Directive fails, something else will come along to try to achieve the same aim. With this cynicism, I do not mean to be discouraging, but rather to call for a wider approach and vision.

Within the context of protest politics, we often find even radical activists calling for "protection" and "rights", which rests on the assumption that there is a body, be it the nation state or an extra-national institution, which regulates for the good of society, above the interests of capital. This illusion is becoming more and more appallingly naïve; money making and capital interests are firmly entrenched in government. The moments where the state plays social protector are acts of cheap PR played out with our public funds which we have worked for and earned and opposition to the bottom line can only take place in relation to the power and wealth of the society; in this, some nation states are at a distinct disadvantages in the spectacle known as "protecting its subjects".

Many leftists envision the transition of the state from power broker and capital enabler to social protector and insurer. While this (arguably) may be a considerable improvement in its role, there is also the perspective of decommissioning it and replacing it with workers' self-government and international federalism. The underlying principle, the creation of a libertarian society, would presuppose various mechanisms for the elimination of material deprivation and disparity, and, most importantly, the elimination of the causes of inequity. Within the restraints of



this article, it would not be possible to explore the framework for the creation of such a libertarian society, but we are convinced of the following: the key to the creation of any future socially equitable society lies in divesting capital and state of its powers.

We see the challenge of the international labor movement, (or in the case of this particular issue, of the European one), not in pressing for more hollow promises from insincere politicians, nor even in achieving the scrapping of the Directive, but in experiencing the mobilization in a different way. Rather than marching in pre-coordinated marches as one of an orchestrated mass, we would like working people to experience a sense of self-activity and interconnectivity. We do not see the challenge in getting labour leaders in negotiations with state and EU functionaries, or even in talks amongst themselves, but in rank and file workers deciding on a strategy of activity and horizontal organization as opposed to participating at the bottom of a top-down movement as a protected subject. The discussion needs to begin on a much wider scale as to the possibilities of international grassroots coordination and direct action with a view to libertarian organizational and revolutionary possibilities.

With this, we call on like-minded people and organizations to take up the opposition to the Bolkestein Directive from a more radical perspective and to promote a revolutionary vision of self-organization and self-management in the framework of this campaign. Stopping Bolkestein is not enough. Neither is stopping capitalism.

## NOTES

(1) Labour ministers maintain that labour flexibility can co-exist along with a high-level of social security. Some labour leaders seem to have tragically misread the subtext of the Agenda, believing it is actually a strategy for preserving the social model. As late as last year, the Guardian published an article on the Lisbon Agenda where leaders such as John Monks of the European Trade Union Confederation said that they had "done well in reviving the agenda only a week after many thought that social Europe was dead". For them, the implementation of the strategy seems to be still up to question. "The Lisbon Strategy must be implemented in a manner that is economically, socially and ecologically balanced."

(2) There are numerous examples of this but one that comes to mind is food standards. We were able to see in some areas of food production that when Poland adopted EU standards, they were sometimes much lower than the old local standards, especially in terms of the amounts of food additives permissible.



# ANTI-FASCIST NEWS



## REDWATCH POLAND

### *Beginning of terror or just an attempt to rescue sinking ship?*

Few months ago Polish Nazis started their version of website called REDWATCH, containing all possible data like photos, addresses etc. of everybody they consider "enemies of the nation". Very quickly mainstream Polish media started writing about "Nazi terror" and there were talks about Redwatch almost everywhere. Definitely for Nazi scum it was huge propaganda boost. Of course at the same time there were calls from media and liberal anti-fascists to prosecute authors of this website. Nazis were filling themselves with pride - everybody was talking about them. In the meantime some anti-fascist hackers managed to fuck up their website but Nazi scumbags moved all website to different address.

Is REDWATCH an attempt to start some sort of low level Nazi terrorism in Poland or just a scare? Let's take a closer look. Authors of website in their "statement to media" boast about how they have hit leftists hard and that they "show leftist scum that they know everything about them". Nothing can be more far from truth. If you look at the quality of information you begin to realize that it looks completely pathetic. For example in part about activists from the city of Bialystok there are pictures of masked up anarchists, some teenagers from high school that have rock band (why they are considered to be enemies of the nation I fail to see) and a schoolteacher (her "sin" is that she is interested in Jewish culture and she had some classes about Holocaust). 90% of people on the pictures have absolutely nothing to do with anti-fascist activity. Even more funny is part about Warsaw. Since Antifa from this city is quite

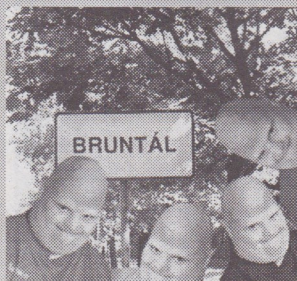
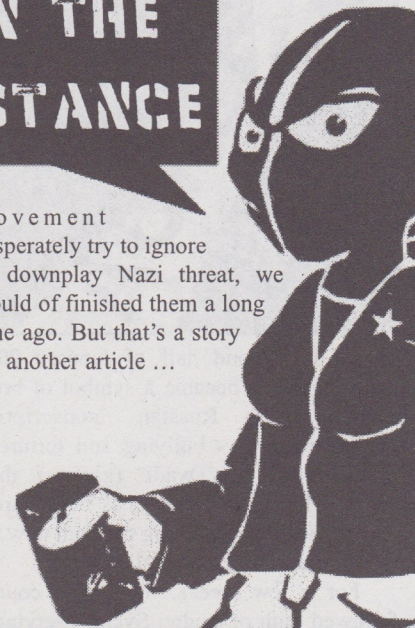
infamous among Nazis for their actions, there is some information about supposed activists of this group - dozen names, few addresses, one or two pictures and e-mail addresses. But the most funny part is definitely one with descriptions of people - here imagination of nazi internet warriors was just amazing. According to this comments, every third person on the list is "leader of antifa". Lots of them seem to be "very dangerous in direct combat and often under influence of drugs". Of course almost all of them have good contacts with police or are on the payroll of secret service... Any sensible person reading that would just burst into laughter and we in antifa are laughing a lot recently. When someone published online the details of the scum providing information for Redwatch, he immediately ran next day to newspapers crying about how he is afraid and threatening legal action against website that published his details!!! How pathetic.

Summarizing - so far Redwatch is nothing more than propaganda trick to rescue sinking ship that "Blood and Honour Poland" is. It brings them cheap and quick media attention but at the end of the day their satiation is still bad. After death of their guru Mariusz Szczerski from band Honor in car accident (what is it with this Nazi scum that they always seem to die in car accidents anyway?) nothing seems to be happening and well known scenario is next - internal squabbles etc. In Bialystok young Nazi crew who had possibilities to become very serious and

dangerous nazi organization ended up engaging itself in the war with football hooligan firm and killing one of the hooligans. Effect? 4 Nazis in prison, one of them on the run (with European arrest warrant on his head) and their entire group in shatters, having against them now not only antifa, but football hooligans (serious business) and police (murdered boy was son of traffic policemen - what a bad luck for Nazi scum...). Seems that this is a pattern they follow in many cities as well. If not for the fact that in most of Polish cities (apart from Lodz, Bialystok and Warsaw) there is no organized ANTIFA activity and most of anarchist

**JOIN THE  
RESISTANCE**

movement desperately try to ignore or downplay Nazi threat, we would of finished them a long time ago. But that's a story for another article ...



## ANTIFASCIST ACTIVITIES IN SLOVAKIA

AFA Bratislava (Slovakia) started their monitoring project. You can find it on the web at <http://monitor.revolt.org/>. It already made a lot of mess, as among those listed as "known" are two policemen and one employee of Ministry of Interior. Of course, journalists made a bit of publicity of this fact; police have tried to prohibit the site (as antifas are abusing the privacy of those listed) but to no effect as the site is hosted abroad.

The town of Bruntal hosted the first Nazi rally this year. On February 25, about 50 Nazis (with strong Slovakia contingent) gathered in front of railway station with Narodni Odpor banner. About 30 Antifas blocked the first street of their march, so Nazis were forced to choose another way, followed by Antifas. A few speeches were disrupted by Antifas. A few Nazis, trying to find their targets far away from main demo, had bad luck that day...



## ANOTHER CONFLICT WITHIN "NAZI FAMILY" IN POLAND

Two polish homophobic organizations, the fascist NOP (National Rebirth of Poland) and MW (All-Polish Youth) have accused each other of cooperating with the police in the arrest of the members of the other organization during their protest against the women's rights demonstration in Warsaw on 4th of March. During the event 30 fascists were arrested and are facing charges of resisting arrest and the like. Always good to see some fighting in the Nazi family...



# BRUTAL REALITIES OF RUSSIAN CONSCRIPTION

## DESERTER DAY ACTIONS ORGANISED BY ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIA



In the second half of January 2006, private Sychev became a symbol of brutal realities of Russian conscription. "Dyedovschina" - bullying and torture of new arrivals by "Dyadi" (gaffers), those soon to finish their duty, has been part of Russian lexicon for a long time but now this word became internationally known.

For a few weeks, the whole country followed faith of Andrei Sychev, serving in Chelyabinsk tank school, who had developed gangrene in his legs and dick after being tied and gang raped for 3 hours by a drunken mob on New Years Eve, after which he was denied medical aid until 4th of January. Information on the case leaked only on the 25th of January, at which point Sychev had already had his legs and dick amputated - even now, 2 months later he is still in a serious condition.

According to polls conducted by independent Levada center, willingness to serve amongst youth of conscript age dropped from more than 50% to less than 40% after turn of the year. Moscow and Yekaterinburg also saw mass protests against bullying in the army, 28th of January saw hundreds of people protest outside the Ministry of Defence in an illegal action with slogans "Dismiss Ivanov!"

(Ministry of Defence) and "Ivanov is gangrene of the army!". Police were at first peaceful, but then began to grab placards and to disperse the crowd, people started shouting slogans against Putin. Police grabbed one of the organizers, but people managed to storm the arrest bus and freed her. Basically, the action was organized through Live Journal and radio Echo Moscow and no symbols of political organizations were around, but a key organizer is aligned with Garri Gasparov's liberal movement.

2 PM the same day in Yekaterinburg, which is the home town of Andrey Sychev another illegal meeting took place, police moved to dispersed it - a short brawl followed and some people were arrested.

It seems all publicity had hardly any effect on the brutal workings of the military machinery, at least in the short run. Just during one single day, 2nd of February, news agencies reported the brutal beating of private S e r g e y Berezin in Norilsk, of a s o l d i e r hospitalized in Bashkiria in a c r i t i c a l condition after officers forced soldiers into "u l t i m a t e fighting", of f o r c i n g conscript D m i t r i Smirniĥ to subscribe a

professional contract by means of torture in Kantemirovsk, of commanders of a division in Yaroslavl giving private Maksim Gugaev as a slave to a general, who poured sulphuric acid over him after "too little effort" in building the site of his cottage, and six other cases of "dyedovschina"...

So this was the political context in which anarchists prepared for the second deserter day festivities 23rd of February. In Soviet times, this was celebrated as birthday of the Red army - according to official propaganda, 23rd of February 1918 Red army gained its first victory against Imperial Germany. 26 years later, these celebrations were used as a pretext to gather all Chechenyans and Ingushetians to their settlements, from which they were railroaded to the steppes of Central Asia - more than one fourth of the nations perished during the trip and the first months of the freezing winter in bare steppes. 1995 "day of red army" was renamed "day of defender of the fatherland", 2004 it was first time an official holiday, and the scale of official celebrations just grows every year - thus Russia may be the only country celebrating a day of an ethnic cleansing of part of its inhabitants.

In Nizhni Novgorod, libertarian communists had an early start to actions, several military call-up centres were covered with graffiti "Dismiss Ivanov! Who







will pay for Sychev?", "If you want to walk, do not serve!", "Soldiers, stock zinc!" and others.

Due to time difference, first daytime actions were to take place in Irkutsk of Siberia. Anarchists staged up a "war" in the central street of the city with homemade "weapons", audience involved, among others, 4 veterans of recent wars without legs. Passersby were laughing, considering "warriors" as fools - anarchists did not mind, wishing that such an opinion on "real" army would prevail soon as well. Eventually, weapons of war were trashed, just as all arms defending only rich and powerful will be eventually scrapped.

In Tyumen of Siberia, action with theme "Do not serve monsters" was organized by local individual members of Autonomous Action and "555 free speech club". Anti-authoritarians had permission to have a meeting in front of the regional call-up center but the local authorities decided to the close center - on its doors was written that "due to events call up center will not admit anyone". Some 50 people joined the action, including uninvited Stalinist youth. People shouted "Army is slavery" and "Freedom, equality and anarcho-communism". People passing by in buses could read banner "Soldier, come back home - arms to the people!" There were plenty of cops, but they behaved themselves peacefully. In the end there was Food Not Bombs action, homeless people and participants of the action were fed - cops refused an offer.

In Moscow, anarchists went to organize second "Deserter day festival". This was to be lower key than last year, last year all events were announced well before and authorities managed to close some of them down. This year places of events were not announced before, and eventually authorities managed to interfere only with the demonstration.

First event of the festival was a press

conference with theme "I do not want to serve, I want to live!" in Independent Press Center a day prior to "Deserter day", speakers included two conscientious objectors from Autonomous Action (Dmitri Gorodov and Dmitri Boltov) and Elena Belousova, mother of Roman Belousov, who is another anti-authoritarian conscientious objector from Moscow.

At noon of 23rd of February, an illegal "March of deserters" started from Nikitski gates. Around 70 people joined demonstration, some of them had escaped their units in cardboard tanks. Demonstration was lead by a big white dove of peace. March was accompanied with music from various drums and whistleblowers, banners carried slogans "Army is meat grinder of human destinies", "If you do not want to serve, do not serve" and "Army = slavery". Marchers wore green fool's caps.

Deserters of the future were shouting "Our fatherland is all humanity!", "I do not want to serve, I really want to live!", "No to war in Iraq and Chechnya!", "Down with

the police state!" and "Raise the black flag higher, the State is the main enemy!". Demand was to reform army until its complete disintegration, to be replaced with a peoples' militia.

March passed close to the military headquarters, from which it turned to Vozdvizhenka street towards Kremlin. When it reached the State library, a bus of OMON blocked the road, and few OMON in riot gear began to grab demonstrators together with regular cops who had also caught up with the demonstration. This was just few hundred meters away from Troitskaya tower, which is the main tourist entrance to Kremlin.

OMON attacked the march, grounded peace dove, trashed tanks and arrested 11 people, beating some of them. All arrested were released the same evening with misdemeanour charges.

Later the same day, a Food Not Bombs action against the war in Chechnya, against huge spending on military-industrial complex and against militarization of society passed without incident. A movie screening of anti-militaristic films was successfully organized in one of the Moscow suburbs.

The next day, the festival continued with a closed concert, from seven booked bands, only "Penicillin" and "No heads" from Moscow, "Crowd Control" from St. Petersburg and "Brud\*Krov" from Minsk could play before the sound system broke down.

The last event of the festival was a discussion to the theme "Conscription and Russian society" on Sunday, 26th of February, with the opening by a speaker from Coalition for Democratic Alternative Service, who gave an update on the current state of legislation and attempts of military-industrial complex to hinder government promise to shorten service time to one year before 2008.





# ANNOUNCEMENTS AND APPEALS

## ANARCHIST PUBLISHING PROJECT IN POLAND LOOKING FOR SUPPORT



Polish Independent Publishing House "Trojka" ([www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl](http://www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl)) is looking for support for their project

It is the project of publication of Noam Chomsky's book that presents his political articles to polish readers. So far, Polish anarchist movement has published mainly magazines, pamphlets and occasionally books. The latter were of rather small size, a small print-run and a limited unofficial distribution that allowed to distribute it amongst radical social-political communities, or in a small amount of bookshops. The aim of this undertaking is to achieve new standards that would allow for the development of the independent publishing movement in Poland.

This book is a collection of speeches and interviews with Noam Chomsky. It is a selection of texts from "Language and politics" and "Radical Priorities" that were published by AK Press. This collection has been entitled "Politics. Anarchism. Linguistics." and divided into three parts:

### 1st – Terror, war and global capitalism that include:

- "A iraquity into global capitalism" (R.P.)
- "The multilinear agrement on investment" (R.P.)
- "A world without war" (R.P.)
- "Terror and just response" (R.P.)
- "From "comunism" to "Terrorism" and the "drug war" (L.P.)
- "The feateful triangle: a fateful asymmetry" (L.P.)
- "The economous impact of state-directed

international" (L.P.)

"The Iraq operation, before and after" (L.P.)

### 2nd – Radical priorities:

"Class construction and the ideology of power" (L.P.)

"The relevance of anarcho-syndicalism" (R.P.)

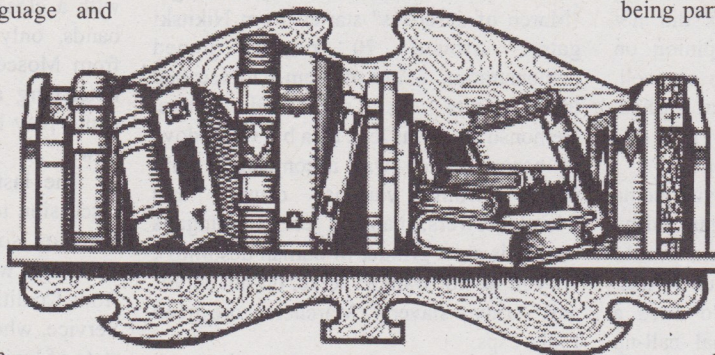
"Marxism, Anarchism, and alternative futures" (L.P.)

### 3rd – Language and politics:

"Language theory and the theory of justice" (L.P.)

"Politics and science" (L.P.)

"Linguistics and politics" (L.P.)



These texts are published thanks to AK Press who made them available to us without charging for copyright. On the cover, there will be a work by a Polish artist who creates socially critical art – Zbigniew Libera <http://raster.art.pl/gallery/artists/libera/libera.htm> /, who is also a sympathizer of anarchist

movement and made

this work available for free. The book will be published in A5 format, will have 300 pages and will be published in 1,000 copies.

Through the publication of such titles we would like to reach a wider audience that did not come into contact with publications published by anarchist publishing houses. Because of that, the distribution would be based on independent and official channels of distribution. That would make it available in majority of Polish bookshops. So far, Polish anarchist movement has not published such large publications, written by such famous authors. All that causes more complicated logistics. Large volume of the book, famous author and official distribution as new elements would cause a development of politically committed publishing movement.

Publishing House "Trojka" exists from 1994 and does the publishing activity also through developing its actions by different, new elements. We are a publishing house based on collective rules, very closely connected with Polish anarchist movement, being part of it and supporting its initiatives.

This pioneering project would serve to develop more advanced publishing forms. The aim of the book is to begin publishing more titles that would be a counterbalance to the commercial publishing houses.

This large project (for us) also needs a large sum of financial outlays. The translation has already been paid for by us, but now we are not able to pay for the print. We need 2,000 Euro to get the book prepared for printing. We are asking you for any help, in the form of donation or a loan.

**Publishing House "Trojka"**  
[bractwo\\_trojka@wp.pl](mailto:bractwo_trojka@wp.pl)

## ANTI-REPRESSION PROTEST CONNECTED WITH THE EVENTS DURING CZECHTEK FESTIVAL IN CZECHIA IN 2005

On 15th April takes place an anti-repression protest in Strasbourg/France. The event that is the reason for this protest was the repression of the CzechTek Festival last summer where more than 100 people were injured and 2 people killed (for more info about the

confrontation during CzechTek check AbolishingBB #21, October 2005); The protest in Strasbourg is not only against this but against all repression against subcultures such as free-parties, squats and trailer-sites. Further information you can find at [www.free4euroalternatives.org](http://www.free4euroalternatives.org)





# "MOJA TWOJA NE PONIMAJ / MINE DON'T UNDERSTAND YOURS"

## EASTERN EUROPEAN CONFERENCE 7-11 JUNE 2006 IN BERLIN

Mutual understanding expresses, and brings to our lives, a special sense of an interest in each other, and brings us into the lives of others. Respect and equality implies that we understand that political and cultural ideas and practices are diverse because they have different histories and that these histories are all equal. How can mutual understanding and respect be brought together in examining different constructions of values, beliefs, backgrounds, experiences and ideological convictions without being racist, xenophobic or dominant?

It's almost a century now that Europe has dealt with two polar constructions. The so-called West and East used to stand in direct opposition to each other and, it was/is claimed, have two different kinds of mentalities: the 'rational, individualistic and profit-oriented' West and the 'irrational, communal, full-of-Soviet-achievements' East. They both claimed a right to exist without engaging in mutual exchange, yet, what should be done if:

- ★ one claims domination in order to suppress the other by imposing (its) 'civilised' values
- ★ another one constructs and blindly believes myths of Western paradise and well-being
- ★ the criteria for what is correct/desirable is only profit-oriented, pushing human values down the list of priorities

This seminar is a meeting for politically active individuals and groups who don't want to blindly accept, and who actively seek to change

- ★ common prejudices, labels and false identities about East and West
- ★ one-sided negative approaches towards Soviet history and ex-Soviet peoples' values
- ★ Western dominance and Eastern passivity towards a neo-colonial approach to the East
- ★ a repressive border/visa regime towards Eastern European citizens
- ★ a mainstream discourse that depicts EU enlargement as unavoidable and 'positive' and as an absolute and perceived desirable 'Europeanisation'
- ★ the current hegemony of neo-liberal ideology, with its corresponding market ideology, the economisation of life, mass consumption and mass entertainment, where human life and happiness are valued only according to economic criteria.

Are you interested in looking for alternatives and put the right accent on East-West relationships, particularly with regard to political activist's collaboration? Then come and join us for the seminar "Moja tvoja ne ponimaj" (Mine don't understand yours) which

is a ground meeting of virtual community (spotykach-mail list) in Berlin 7-11 June 2006 get to know each other in face, meet new people and develop a better level of understanding while resisting a globalisation and other capitalistic tricks.

With this seminar, we want to provide space for listening to personal stories and opinions and sharing experiences of being 'foreign' in the East/West. This includes discussions on cultural differences, language barriers and differences in humour, commonly accepted social behaviours in order to develop a better solidarity between those who are not indifferent to how our world is being constructed. The concept of this conference is therefore to include workshops not only on political and economic but also cultural and personal issues and create awareness of differences in conceptions of gender, race, etc., so that we can create common understandings.

Politically, we would like this seminar

- ★ to identify what underlies conceptions of the "shiny" West and "dirty" East

- ★ to encourage activists to speak honestly about their own experiences in frame of a former socialist and current capitalist state systems of oppression

- ★ to use our discoveries about each other to create practical collaborations without stereotypes, clichés and dominance as those imposed by states propaganda as personal one

- ★ discuss recent developments and experiences of past East-West projects with all their positive and negative achievements

- ★ to give more space to Eastern European initiatives, projects and ideas to be presented and discussed with an intentional reduction of those that have traditionally enjoyed more exposure, namely, well-established Western European initiatives

- ★ to allow western activists a self awareness that ensures models of domination are truly called into question and not unintentionally repeated and the possibility discover the East as a valuable source of human experience

- ★ combine our efforts to express our protests against discriminative political and cultural models, imposed by current propaganda as in the West as in the East

If you are interested in joining this seminar

and become involved in the discussions on the programme and the above issue as a whole, or just join a discussion on the topic virtually, please send an e-mail and introduce yourself to the spotykach-mailing list community (spotykach@lists.nadir.org)

Application form with information about you mainly for visa procedure can be filled out on-line <http://informal.benn.org/go/eecon>. If you are limited with Internet access, please send your dates to [apply4berlin@eyfa.org](mailto:apply4berlin@eyfa.org), or by post: postbus 94115, 1090 GC Amsterdam, the Netherlands with remark "Eastern European Conference"; or by fax +31 [0]20 692 8757

Please indicate if you require travel reimbursement to attend this meeting and give a brief explanation about your circumstances. We cannot guarantee travel reimbursement for everyone, but will try our best to help you attend this meeting. The maximum travel reimbursement is 70% of environment friendly transport.



**Deadline:** 15 April 2006 for those who need a visa to come to Germany and 1 May 2006 - for others.

**Organisers:** spotykach-mailing list community (<https://lists.nadir.org/cgi-bin/mailman/listinfo/spotykach> together with volunteers from EYFA (European Youth for Action) network ([www.eyfa.org](http://www.eyfa.org))

**Contact person:** Olga Samborska: [samborska@gmx.de](mailto:samborska@gmx.de)

### Location of the seminar:

a) *Alte Feuerwache*; Axel-Springer-Straße 40/41; 10969 Berlin-Kreuzberg; <http://www.alte-feuerwache.de/>

b) *Mehringhof*; Gneisenaustr. 2a; 10961 Berlin; <http://www.mehringhof.de/>

**We look forward to seeing you in Berlin!**



EMANCYPUNX & REFUSE present:

# NOC WALPURGII VALPURGI'S NIGHT FESTIVAL

10th YEAR ANNIVERSARY

WARSZAWA, POLAND, 30.04.2006

## HISTORY AND MAIN IDEAS OF THE FESTIVAL

Noc Walpurgii festival started in 1996 in Warsaw, Poland. It was the first festival in the country taking issues of struggle against sexism and homophobia as main ideas of the event. These issues were not taken seriously inside of the punk, underground, antifascist or anarchist scenes and we felt it important to show that most forms of discrimination like racism, sexism, homophobia are linked and that fighting against these forms of oppression is basic.

As a pro-feminist and pro-women festival, we support anarchist-feminist activities as well as other forms of feminist and anti-patriarchal struggle. We also support all female and female fronted punk and hardcore bands, as it was clear that local scenes used to have small amount of women involved. It was even worse with openly queer, gay or lesbian participants in punk, anarchist or antifascist scenes before. We worked with queer, lesbian and gay activists, spoken word artists, drag queens, drag kings, djanes' and other activists. The festival started been successful by being attractive for females and males, queers, lesbian, gays or straights, punks, hardcore or others who wanted to be a part of it. It's an impressing feeling to see so many different people having fun on the dance floor or during the shows. We also want to support any kind of other DIY hardcore punk bands supporting the cause or having messages relating to the ideas of the festival. We promote hardcore/punk culture but as well as being into other forms of activities like dj's, artists, activists. We respect the need for self-organization and the need for space for all those discriminated against or oppressed, but the festival idea is not to create a separated place for just one certain type of people. Noc Walpurgii is more about connecting each other and building fundamental structures to resist – it means its open to anyone interested in supporting the issues of the festival; bands or artists, interested in the same struggle against sexism, homophobia, fascism, racism, corporate capitalism and more. It means that

anyone is welcome, no matter what gender or sexual orientation. We felt the importance to make events friendly to everyone involved, so we're standing in opposition to all kinds of violence at the shows, any violent dancing or macho behaviour is not accepted. It is important to us all to see more women taking

fundamentalist catholic government and president consists of attacks on minorities, gay and lesbian communities, taking away women's rights and public rights. They work hand in hand with the extreme right wing and nazi-skinhead groups, attack gay parades, arrest demonstrators...The list goes on, including many other issues. There's a feel of the end of democracy in Poland and the come back of censorship and repression.

All in the name, of what new leaders are saying, moral cleansing of, Poland and solidarity of the nation. What we need to now is International Solidarity. It's important to all those involved in any kind of resistance in Poland. Noc Walpurgii since the beginning was organised by members of the anarcho-feminist collective Emancypunx and Refuse Records, both involved in hardcore punk scene in Poland.



up the space or having fun during the shows.

Throughout the years the festival became one of the biggest and most important events in Poland coming from the underground hc/punk scene. Each festival there is around 700-1000 visitors. It's also one of the most international events in Poland, with a lot of visitors from other countries, foreign bands or artists. Noc Walpurgii became important because of the ideas and issues related with the event, but it's also important because it's now the oldest polish hardcore/punk festival. Throughout the years many bands from Poland played on the fest like Post Regiment, Homomilitia, Guernica Y Luno, Złodzieje Rowerow, Sanctus Iuda and many more, as well as many international bands like Harum-Scarum, Re-Sisters, Scattergun, Highscore, Active Minds, Lorena & The Bobbits, Beyond Pink, De Fatwas, Lady! Die, Vicious Irene, Cinder, Oil and others. There's always lots of non-musical activities like workshops, performance, exhibitions, spoken word, movies or demonstrations ("Take back the night", Gay Pride). In the new political climate in Poland, the issues of the festival are even more important now and the same goes to international support. The politics of the new right wing populist nationalist and

## PROGRAM

**Day I : WARSZAWA, Aurora, Dobra 33/35, start 13.00;**

- GREG BENNICK (US)
- CHRIS REGN (D) - act like a guerilla girl workshops, spoken word, discussions, movies presented by Bildwechsel, djanes.

**Day II: WARSZAWA, CDQ, Burakowska 12, start 18.00;**

- AMANDA WOODWARD (F)
- THE TANGLED LINES (D)
- DAISY CHAIN (D)
- SHORT FUSE (D)
- ZŁODZIEJE ROWEROW (PL)
- EL BANDA (PL)
- EKSMISJA (PL)
- POGOTOWIE SEKSUALNE (PL)
- +GREG BENNICK - spoken word + juggling performances, dj's and more!

**Day III: WARSZAWA**

- "Flight From Death: The Quest For Immortality" (Patrick Shen/Greg Bennick, USA)
- + meeting and discussion w/ Greg Bennick



## BANDS AND ARTISTS

**GREG BENNICK (SEATTLE, USA)**

Special guest of the festival. Greg Bennick is known in the world of hardcore scene, as a singer of one of the best straight edge hardcore bands in the 90's - TRIAL. Their last full length album called "Are these are lives?" is viewed as a masterpiece release. Trial message taken on many social and political issues, written passionately and intelligently. In late 1999 the band played several shows in Europe, including a great show in Warsaw, Poland in November '99, as their second to last show ever.

Since the band split up, Greg have been active in many other ways (as well as during Trial era). He's co-producer of the movie "Flight From Death: The Quest From Immortality". This multiple award-winning film explores human beings' innate and subconscious fear of death and portrays the impacts of that fear on human's behavior, specifically in regard to violence. Greg Bennick is involved in many other projects, including Western Shoshone Defense Project, Rape Crisis Center and others, as well as juggling, spoken word performances, interest in philosophy and psychology. Greg is the co-founder of The World Leader's Project, a multi-year initiative to discuss issues related to the psychology of human violence face-to-face with world leaders. Along with directing wordsasweapons.com, a website dedicated to non-violent social change, Greg tours throughout the United States, speaking to college audiences and other groups about political and social issues. During Valpurgi's Night Festival, we'll see Greg Bennick three times: on day one workshop, second day spoken word and juggling on stage and third day meeting and discussion with Greg about "Flight From Death" movie, Trial and other projects. [www.wordsasweapons.com](http://www.wordsasweapons.com)  
[www.myspace.com/xjugglerx](http://www.myspace.com/xjugglerx)  
[www.myspace.com/trial](http://www.myspace.com/trial)  
<http://flightfromdeath.com>  
[www.myspace.com/flightfromdeath](http://www.myspace.com/flightfromdeath)

**CHRIS REGN (HAMBURG, GERMANY)**

Chris(tine) Regn/ Helga Broll, 1964, Nurnberg, lives and works in Hamburg and Basel. Since 1983 she has been working as an artist developing concepts, researching in archives, as a chronist, in projects and as a curator, founder member of the "Kunstlerinnenarchiv"; since 1992 conception and supervision of the venue, the projects and archives of "Bildwechsel" umbrella organisation for women/media/culture in Hamburg as part and background of her own work together with Birgit Durbahn; since 1998 projects concerning concepts of biography and the representation of interviews, club-events, presentations, seminars, concepts for games, gallery-game in Basel and Hamburg, concept and presentation of the gallery Helga Broll [www.bildwechsel.org](http://www.bildwechsel.org) [www.galerie-broll.com](http://www.galerie-broll.com)

29.04 workshop: "How to act like a

*Guerilla Girl* (and by the way - to behave like a lady) " with Chris Regn (Bildwechsel, Hamburg). The Guerilla Girls have opened up a label and offered famousness as a contribution to kind of protected action in political culture and as conscience of the art world with their anonymity as female artists. Everyone could be a Guerilla Girl!, they explain their effect on the art world. The Guerilla Girls is a group of female artists from New York, which has been operating in complete anonymity since 1985: Their trademarks are gorilla masks. Poster- and postcard-campaigns and the public appearances by the GGs focus on sexism and racism in the art world, in politics and in language and culture in general. We will analyse their slogans, the way in which they formulate and appear in public. And we will transfer that into our own environment. "We could be anyone; we are everywhere". [www.guerillagirls.com](http://www.guerillagirls.com)

**AMANDA WOODWARD (BORDEAUX, FRANCE)**

One of the best and most sincere, authentic emotive hardcore bands around. Stick to the original meaning of the term, so no any watered down mainstream crap here. Driving emotional hardcore with touchy personal, social and political message. Members of the band have for years been active in hardcore punk in France, previously known from bands like ALCATRAZ or PEU ETRE. Amanda Woodward releases a couple of records in label like Level-Plane, Stonehenge and others. Their latest one is "Discographie" CD on Golden Brown Records (USA) and Paranoid Records. [www.sans-vie.com](http://www.sans-vie.com) [www.level-plane.com](http://www.level-plane.com)  
[www.stonehengerecords.com](http://www.stonehengerecords.com)

**THE TANGLED LINES (DRESDEN, GERMANY)**

THE TANGLED LINES is a great, powerful, ass-kicking female fronted fast old school hardcore band from Germany. Known from their high energetic and positive shows. Good meaningful lyrics with some more serious and others less, but with songs like "Girl liberation song" they fit well with the ideas of the festival.

Latest release is a split 7" w/ Dick Cheney (Swe) on Refuse Records and Thrashbastard Records. [www.thetangledlines.de](http://www.thetangledlines.de); [www.myspace.com/thetangledlines](http://www.myspace.com/thetangledlines), [www.refuserecords.prv.pl](http://www.refuserecords.prv.pl)

**DAISY CHAIN (BERLIN, GERMANY)**

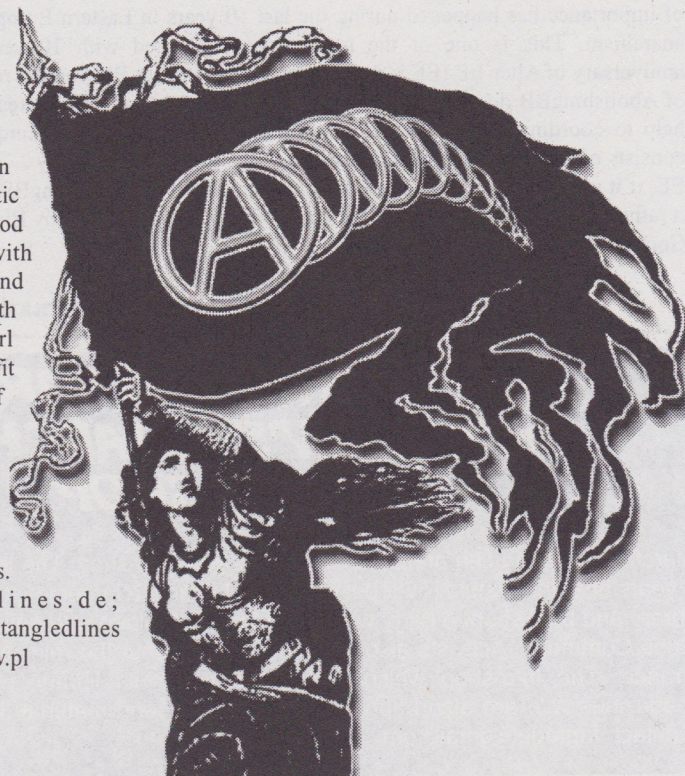
Daisy Chain music is based on the tradition of female-fronted punk rock from the late seventies and early eighties. In their sound you can hear the inspiration of punk rock legends, but their sound is definitely more modern and heavier. Daisy Chain are 3 girls - Eddy, Moni, Molle and Steffen active in the punk movement since ages and all living in the well-known punk and squatter areas Kreuzberg and Prenzlauerberg in Berlin/Germany. If you like powerful female vocals, a true, pissed off, but political "fuck you to society norms" attitude you should definitely check them out! Their full length LP is on Attack Records and CD on Emancypunx Records. [www.daisychain-berlin.de](http://www.daisychain-berlin.de)  
[www.emancypunx.com](http://www.emancypunx.com)

**SHORT FUSE (MUNSTER, GERMANY)**

HIGHSCORE was definitely one of the best and hard hitting fast hardcore bands in Europe. In 2004 the band split up but new bands started out from their ashes - SHORT FUSE and MONSTER. First one is Highscore's singer's new band. Short Fuse is fast no-bullshit '82 hardcore that can't be ignored! Soon their first full length on Assault Records (Ger) and Underestimated Records (US) and US tour. [www.short-fuse.de](http://www.short-fuse.de)  
[www.myspace.com/shortfusesucks](http://www.myspace.com/shortfusesucks)

**ZLODZIEJE ROWEROW (ZAMBROW, POLAND)**

One of the oldest and most respected hardcore bands in Poland, still kicking after 13 years. They played on first three editions of the festival and since the beginning were related with us. Good emotionally driven hardcore punk with social, political and personal message. Their latest CD "Ten moment" is still available on Refuse Records. [www.zrx.band.pl](http://www.zrx.band.pl) [www.refuserecords.prv.pl](http://www.refuserecords.prv.pl)





**EL BANDA (WARSZAWA, POLAND)**

Quality powerful female fronted punk/hc contains members of bands like POST REGIMENT or ANTIDOTUM.  
[www.elbanda.band.pl](http://www.elbanda.band.pl)

**EXMISJA (GLIWICE, POLAND)**

Anarcho- hardcore punk with strong political message. Committed to the DIY scene and activities (incl. Krzyk squat, Food Not Bombs and more). Debut demo release on In Our Hands. [www.exmisja.gliwice.com](http://www.exmisja.gliwice.com)  
[www.inourhands.prv.pl](http://www.inourhands.prv.pl)

**POGOTOWIE SEKSUALNE (WARSZAWA, POLAND)**

Female powerful and melodic straightforward angry punk. Including members of bands like MASS KOTKI, SILIKONFEST, JUNKIE TRAIN and BABY BUTCHER. + DJ'anes, workshops, spoken words, movies, distro tables and more! We're still open on any offers and ideas on workshops, performance, happenings, audiovisual art, spoken word etc.

**CONTACT**

[emancypunx@o2.pl](mailto:emancypunx@o2.pl);

[refusexresist@go2.pl](mailto:refusexresist@go2.pl)

[www.myspace.com/nocwalpurgii](http://www.myspace.com/nocwalpurgii)

[www.nocwalpurgii.prv.pl](http://www.nocwalpurgii.prv.pl) - soon!

[www.emancypunx.com](http://www.emancypunx.com)

[www.refuserecords.prv.pl](http://www.refuserecords.prv.pl)

## **ANARCHISTS FROM THE USA OFFERING ANARCHIST LITERATURE TO EASTERN EUROPE !!!**

Greetings Comrades in Eastern Europe. Quiver Distribution and Press is offering to send free boxes of anarchist literature to Eastern Europe upon request. We understand that many cannot afford postage costs and may be interested in receiving publications from us (on the other side of the world). We're offering to accept requests for packages with the understanding that we will send out boxes as our funds allow (we don't want to lose all of our money on postage costs!), so it might take a while to process your request. If you can afford shipping cost,

let us know, because we'll need all the money we can get for this endeavour and we will be able to send your request quicker. We also would primarily like to focus our distribution towards distros (who may reproduce/translate our materials), info-shops, and others who will make an effort to circulate the materials that they like. This is one of the few things we can do to support comrades over there by contributing to a more global exchange of ideas and dialogue around anarchist ideas. See the website below for a list of titles and get in touch if

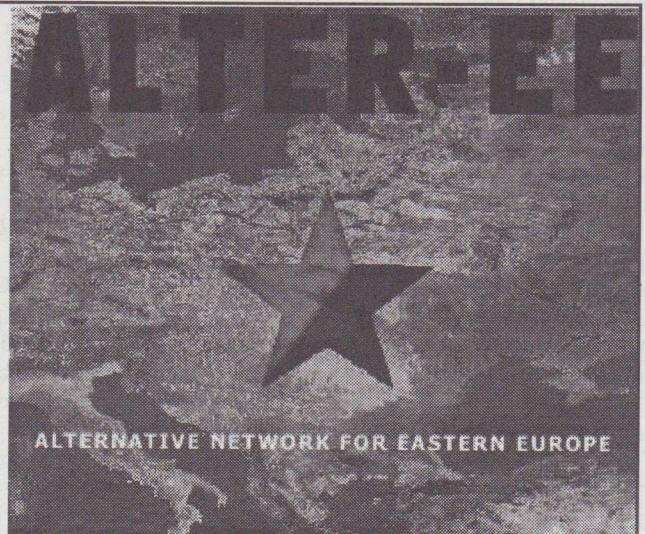
you have any questions.

**In-Solidarity,  
Quiver Distribution & Press**

**quiver distro**  
 PO Box 993  
 Santa Cruz, CA  
 95061 USA  
[quiver@hush.com](mailto:quiver@hush.com)  
[www.anti-politics.net/distro/](http://www.anti-politics.net/distro/)

## **10TH BIRTHDAY of ALTER-EE Happy Birthday Comrades !**

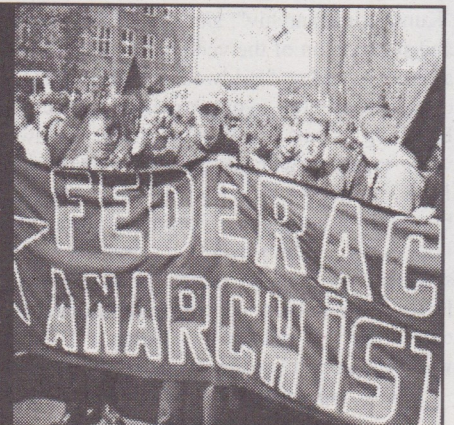
This year is the time of finding old zip drives and forgotten web pages and archives and put them together in order to get the transparent picture of what of importance has happened during the last 10 years in Eastern Europe and anarchism. This is one of the main ideas connected with 10 years of anniversary of Alter-EE (EE is for Eastern Europe). Alter-EE (regular readers of AbolishingBB do not need any explanation here) is the project created to help to coordinate anarchist activities in the region of Eastern Europe. It consists of mailing list, website, and sporadically projects. Finally ... Alter-EE, if it wants it or not, is a project very connected with AbolishingBB; or is it rather opposite? Anyway, for that, and many other reasons: Happy Birthday Comrades!!!



For more background information check [www.alter.most.org.pl](http://www.alter.most.org.pl).

## **FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF WARSAW'S ANARCHIST INFO-SHOP**

March 15 was the fifth anniversary of Warsaw's Info-shop. The Info-shop was located for 4 years near the Vistula River but moved last year to a larger location. It is a meeting place, library and bookshop. A party was held March 18, along with a film and discussion on the Paris Commune. Activists also intended to talk about the relevance of current actions in France. The Info-shop welcomes donations for its library, especially old issues of magazines. We are also happy to exchange or send material (in Polish) upon request. Contact: [fapraga@gmail.com](mailto:fapraga@gmail.com)





**UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS****CZECHIA-SLOVAKIA****BOYCOTT ELECTIONS 2006**

The election time in the Czech republic is coming. Two biggest parties, so-called left-wing and right-wing (of course, in reality both right-wing) and three smaller, are fighting each other while the anarchists slowly start some anti-election activities. First of them is the web page „Boycott election 2006.“. More actions will follow.

**NEW PUBLICATION OF CZECH ANARCHISTS**

Ondrej Slacalek, an A-kontra editor, and Vaclav Tomek, an academic scholar committed to history of Czech anarchist movement, published a new book together. Massive, more than 600 pages book "Anarchismus – Svoboda Proti Moci" (Anarchism – Freedom Against Power) tries to map the history of anarchist ideas and thinkers worldwide and is a pretty solid contribution to the history of our movement.

**15 YEARS OF A-KONTRA / 10 YEARS OF AFA**

The Czech oldest anarchist magazine A-kontra has its fifteenth birthday this year. To mark the anniversary, a few actions (gigs, lectures and even an exhibition) will take place around the Czech Republic. Also, this year is the tenth anniversary of the Czech section of AFA (the AFA is anarchist organisation, section of Federation of anarchist groups /FAS/). To mark this second anniversary, it is planned to have big antifa fest in Prague this autumn, probably a two days action full of antifa music of all genres.

**CZECH NAZIS ON ANARCHA-FEMINISM**

Last active (at least virtually)

neo-nazi group Narodni Odpor published two articles about anarcha-feminists on their web page. What is wrong with feminism is apparently the following: they don't shave their legs, are over-sized and ugly...

Meanwhile, anarchofeminist groups had two lectures and a small queer/gender party to mark March 8 and published new issue of their Prima Cesta revue. Main theme: sexuality.

**FOOD NOT BOMBS UPDATE**

A new Food not Bombs group was started in the town of Ceska Trebova. Their plan is to give free vegetarian food every first Saturday each month. One FNB group is still active in Prague, cooking each week. FNB Liberec stopped their activity last year due to the lack of people. FNB Plzen doesn't work anymore as well. Another group was active in the town of Hradec Kralove, on monthly basis, but there are no news about that.

**RUSSIA****BANNERS AROUND KREMLIN ON MARCH 8**

Banners were hung from top of the entrance to the underground "Ohotniy Ryad" shopping centre, which is in the very center of Moscow, next to North-West corner of Kremlin. One banner said "Flowers today, handcuffs every day" and was criticizing the hypocrite message that is celebrated in "apolitical" women's day today. On one of the other banners was written: "Women of the world, you have a choice, kitchen and fashion, that is not freedom!". About 30 people participated in action, no arrests took place.

**POLAND****MINISTRY OF EDUCATION -****RELIGIOUS INDOCTRINE FINE BUT PACIFISM DANGEROUS**

The Minister of Education in Poland has sent a document around to schools on the eve of (the typically modest) anti-war protests to be held in Poland on March 19. It says:

"Many organizations go to schools with proposals about presenting their views, aims and plans in educational facilities. It happens that they invite teachers and, above all, students, to organize events for them. With regard to such events, this is the position of the Ministry of Education and Science: Schools are institutions free of politics and any kind of indoctrination, (art 56 of the law on the education system of Sept. 7 1991). (...) School-aged children and youth most often don't have a completely developed values system. Young people are impressionable and can lose the real meaning when attending an effective presentation. Attractive pacifist, ecological and antiwar slogans are accepted uncritically by youth but really they are harmful. We request that directors of schools be informed about these attempts to get to the students, especially as the anniversary of the intervention in Iraq is coming up. We have to take effective action to ensure that children have safe conditions for education and this also means, forming an appropriate, mature relation to current events. Jaroslaw Zielinski"

Adding few comments for context:

A week or two ago, a member of the campaign against homophobia was banned from speaking in a public school;

Students are organizing more in the schools. Students from the Anarchist Federation are also organizing themselves and some events, demonstrations, etc. took place.

Despite the fact that the teachers' union has bowed to political pressure before (for example during the 2004 economic summit in Warsaw), they have recently done a few

political things, for example appearing at the March 8 demo and they will be hosting an antiwar conference this weekend.

**ANARCHISTS AND LEFTISTS AGAINST THE BOLKESTEIN DIRECTIVE**

On February 11, about 80 people gathered for a picket against the proposed EU Bolkestein directive in the center of Warsaw. The picket was organized by various leftist organizations. Two sections of the Anarchist Federation were present too, and distributed and read the statement of the Polish Anarchist Federation about the directive.

Some counter-protesters were present (not exceeding 10 people in total) including liberal conservatives (KOLIBER) and nazi boneheads,

**PARLIAMENT COMMISSION INVESTIGATES SECRET SERVICE INVOLVEMENT IN "GAY POWER" AFFAIR**

A special commission has been set up in the Polish parliament to investigate the possibility of secret service involvement in the so-called "Gay Power" affair. During the second round of presidential elections won by the homophobic Kaczynski, 12 fake bombs were found all over Warsaw blocking traffic in the whole city for hours. Later on, a letter signed "Gay Power" was sent claiming responsibility for the incident. The letter denounced the homophobic actions of Lech Kaczynski. The commission will investigate the possibility that the secret services wanted to increase the chances of Kaczynski in the elections by letting him pose as a "strong man" able to bring order again.

Duh! Didn't the Warsaw anarchists say this all along?

**UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS**



# A N A R C H I S T B L A C K C R O S S

## POLAND

**TOMASZ WILKOSZEWSKI**  
- NEWS -

Tomasz Wilkoszewski, anti-fascist prisoner from Poland will soon have his parole board. His hearing should take place at some point of April. Tomek spent already 10 years in prison out of his 15 years sentence. Now his support campaign is growing bigger and bigger. Recently there was a leak of information from prosecution office to the media and in Sieradz local newspaper (Sieradz is a city where Tomek is imprisoned) printed an article about him, in which prosecutor admits that there has been mistake in Tomek's case and he shouldn't be that long in prison. Also article mentioned that he receives lots of support for his early release from all over the country and lots of letters from Europe.

From a recent phone conversation with Tomek we know that thanks to that his treatment in prison is quite good as screws are treating him as some sort of mafia boss or celebrity with so many people from all over the world interested in his case. There is a very good chance that soon Tomek will be released but we need to keep pressure on prison authorities!!! Please keep sending petitions and letters to authorities. If you need an example of letter in Polish and English, you can write to us: [abcbialystok@o2.pl](mailto:abcbialystok@o2.pl) or download it from Brighton ABC website [www.brightonabc.org.uk](http://www.brightonabc.org.uk).

Tomek also loves to receive letters and postcards which are his only window on the world. His address is:

**Tomek Wilkoszewski,**  
**Zaklad Karny,**  
**ul. Orzechowa 5,**  
**98-200 Sieradz,**  
**Poland**

## TURKEY

**TURKISH ANTI-MILITARIST**  
**RELEASED! (13/03/05)**

Anarchist, gay, conscientious objector Mehmet Tarhan has been released today (March 9th, 2006) following the decision of the Military Criminal Court of Cassation located in Ankara. Mehmet has been in Sivas military prison since April 2005 and was sentenced to four years of imprisonment by the local military court. After the decision of the upper court calling for his release, he has taken to the local recruitment center and later in the evening he has been

by anti-authoritarians, anarchists, gays lesbians and anti-militarists in Turkey and worldwide. Lots of campaigns has been organized in more than 15 countries including a day of international solidarity with Mehmet.

### Background Information:

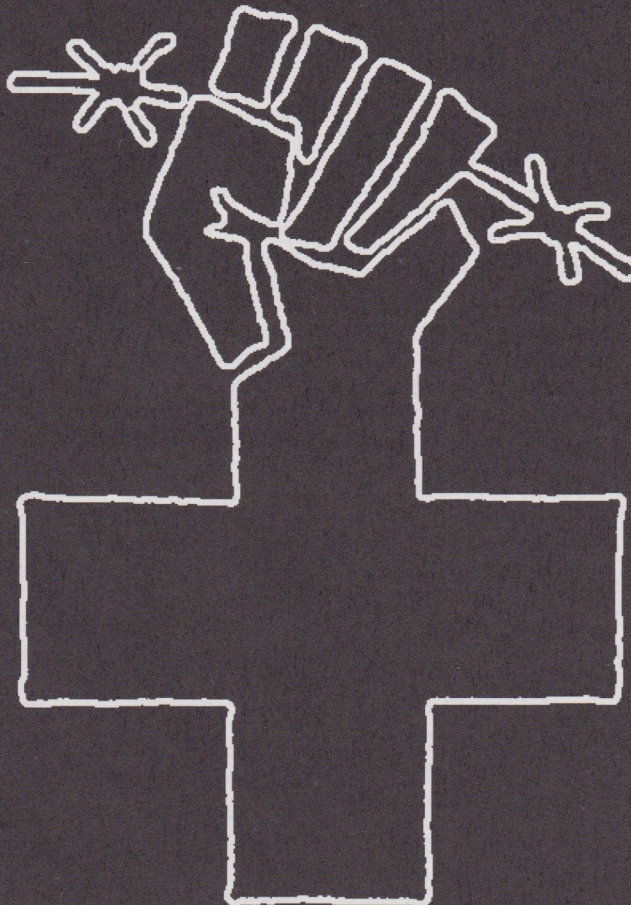
In 2001, Mehmet Tarhan, anarchist and anti-militarist, declared his total conscientious objection to all wars and to any alternative to military service. He refused to be discharged from the military on the basis of his homosexuality, which the Turkish authorities view as an illness, saying this is "an expression of the rottenness of the militarist system itself." In order

to certify men as gay the 'rotten' military authority requires not only a manual examination by doctors but also a photo or a video of applicants being sexually penetrated. The person applying for exemption as a gay man has to be the one penetrated? the one penetrating is not classified as gay by the military!

Since 8 April 2005 he has been detained at Sivas military prison. On 10 August he was sentenced to four years imprisonment on two charges of "insubordination before the unit" (article 88 of the Military Criminal Code). Even after he has served his sentence he will face mock release, and another cycle of detention, torture and trial. He is appealing his conviction.

This is not the first time M. Tarhan has suffered prison violence: in April 2005, other prisoners who were encouraged by prison staff beat him. After a 28-day hunger strike in protest against that and other abuse, he won many of his demands, including the right to have a cell of his own to ensure his protection. However, he has since been regularly put in isolation by the prison authorities, because he refuses to act as a soldier and obey orders.

<http://www.savaskarsitlari.org>



released from there. About a month ago ECHR has convicted Turkey to pay 11.000 euros for a violation of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights (about the prohibition of degrading treatment) on another conscientious objector Osman Murat Ülke's case. This decision was expected to have a positive impact on Mehmet Tarhan's case. Mehmet Tarhan's struggle is widely supported

# A N A R C H I S T B L A C K C R O S S



# LABOUR STRUGGLES



## TAXI DRIVER STRIKE IN OMSK FOLLOWING REPRESSION AGAINST ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS

25th of February "Yamschik" ("coach-driver"), a syndicate of taxi drivers organized a protest meeting in Omsk. (Exactly speaking, it is a union of drivers of "Marshrutnoe taksi", that is private minibuses, a popular means of public transport all around developing world). "Yamschik" was founded last autumn, it is member of syndicalist Omsk Confederation of Labour (local section of Siberian Confederation of Labour), and has some 100 members.

During last years, municipally owned transport was in a complete disarray in Omsk, and private minibuses became a lifeline of the city. Tariffs of minibuses were only 1-2

roubles (3-6 cents) more expensive than those of the municipally owned public transport, sometimes even cheaper.

In summer of 2005, city administration made a deal with owner of "Russian Aluminum" Deripask, who brought 200 new buses to Omsk. Deripask was promised a monopoly of public transport after transitional period of 5 years. First of February city of Omsk made a new auction of licenses to public transport, and only biggest actors of the market were given licenses. All of those owning just one mini-bus were outlawed. Some 4000 drivers were left without work.

First drivers kept on driving without licenses, but soon Gosavto-inspection began sanctioning them. Since 1st of February, public transport in Omsk has been in a chaos - city has the biggest land area in Siberia, it stretches

some 70 kilometers by bank of river Irtysh and 200 new buses were definitely not enough. Everybody was suffering from the situation, thus more than 1000 people came to meeting of "Yamshik", not only taxi drivers. City powers were scared well before the meeting, and already 23rd of February it sent cops to homes of members of Yamschik and Omsk Confederation of Labour in order to "warn" them. But even some of the cops were so pissed because of the situation that instead of threatening they showed solidarity to

syndicalists ...

Meeting in city Duma began 10 AM and lasted one hour. After meeting, people did not disperse and suddenly somebody came up with an idea to pay a visit to mayor's office. What followed was a spontaneous march, there were some confrontations with police on the way, but they could not stop it. Road next to mayor's



office was blockaded, and city transport disturbed during two hours. Police arrested Valentin Kuznetsov from Yamschik and 4 other people.

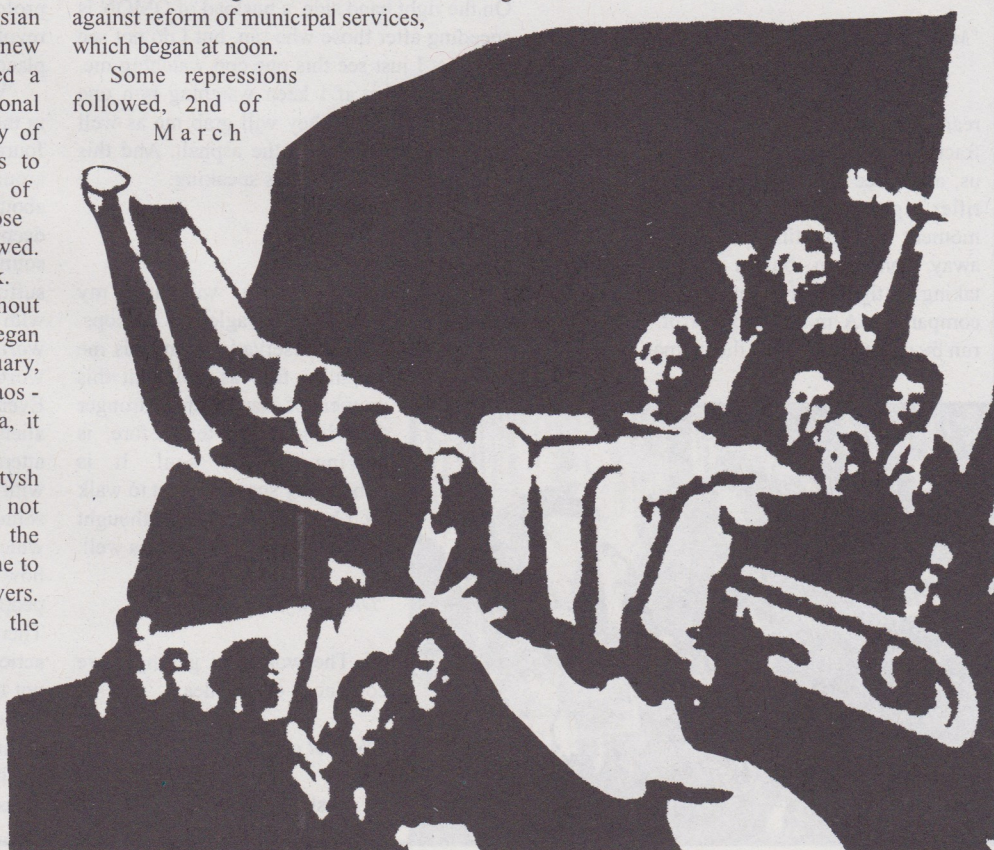
From mayor's office,

people marched to block bridge over river Irtysh, at this point size of spontaneous action had grown to more than 2000. Eventually crowd intermingled with another meeting against reform of municipal services, which began at noon.

Some repressions followed, 2nd of March

Yelena Starostina from Omsk Confederation of Labour was arrested by plain clothes officers, when she was arriving at a court hearing, where some participators of the action of 25th of February were facing misdemeanour charges and to which she was summoned as a witness. She was taken to central police station, interrogated and charged of co-organisation of the street blockade. Some 10 persons gathered for a spontaneous solidarity picket, and after two hours she was released.

*Information from Vyacheslav Danilov of Siberian Confederation of Labour, and site [www.skt.org.ru](http://www.skt.org.ru)*





The following article was published in Avtonom #25.  
References to the actions are for Moscow anarchist Mayday of 2005.

## RECLAIMING THE CITY

*"Revolutionary moments are carnivals in which the individual life celebrates its unification with a regenerated society".*

Raoul Vaneigem, The Revolution of Everyday Life

*"Let's get the fuck out of here!"*

I hear a shout next to me. Just a second before something is happening behind us, some confusion, it is one of those moments when you may not really figure out what is going on, but have this feeling that it is time to run. Confusion is caused by FSO (Federal Security Service - trans.) troopers, who rush out from an entrance to FSB (x-KGB - trans.) waiting room, shouting "Everybody freeze!", but this shout does not make it to my consciousness, I just understand that I am running just as everyone else around me is.

I talk to my self: "Stop!", I try to get over the feeling of panic. To run straight forward makes no sense: I am a slow runner and there is not really any place to run into - only a big, naked square surrounded by FSB buildings. It does not work out to mingle with the crowd, because there are not a lot of passersby around. What to do? And I see a middle-aged woman in a white coat on the sidewalk, she has raised her hands to her breast. She seems to be very scared. I do not have time for considerations, I run to her and instinctively put my hands together the same way she does:

*"May I go with you?"*

I take her hand and we go. We go rearwards, by Kuznetskiy Most. In some fractions of a second, last comrades run past us, and I see distorted faces carrying assault rifles right to the spot where I am. This moment I am fighting with the desire to run away from them, but in the end I am just taking a tighter grip on the elbow of my companion. A moment of terror, when they run by us, and I feel that the woman is not less

horrified than I am, although certainly nothing is threatening her. And suddenly, I am alone with her. In front of us, a crowd of cops, and we are moving towards it. Unexpectedly my companion is speaking:

*"So where do you want to go?! What do you want?"*

*"I want to get to Metro at least. Yes, I really want ... I really want to get to metro."*

And against my will I am heading to the right, further away from the place where the cops are converging and our people are laying down. Faces on the street, hands over their heads, I can only see backs and legs and I do not recognize who was grabbed. I see how a cop is stretching the legs more wide and hitting somebody's back with an assault rifle. And the rest of the cops are standing around them, watching me, us, because we are just walking past all this. And suddenly I realize that one of the cops is recognizing me, because a malevolent smile is appearing on his face. And my companion is pushing me in their direction, to the left, as if purposefully. On the right hand side, a busload of OMON is speeding after those who ran, but I do not see this bus, I just see this one cop watching me. And I feel that if I keep watching him one more split second, they will grab me as well and push my face into the asphalt. And this moment my companion is speaking:

*"Are they drunk or what?..."*

With disgust she is watching my comrades, who are spread-eagled by the cops. My instinct of self-preservation demands me to pull a face as well, but this moment of sharp shame, stronger than I had ever felt before, is carving up my soul. It is unbearably shameful just to walk by, I have a glimpse of a thought of giving myself to them as well.

*"Drunken for sure!"*

The woman is getting more convinced of her idea.

*"No, not drunken."*

Is slipping out from me. She

is tossing her eyes up to me with surprise:

*"Who are these guys?"*

*"Anarchists"*

*"So you are with them? I see."*

A moment of silence.

*"What happened? Why did they treat you like that?"*

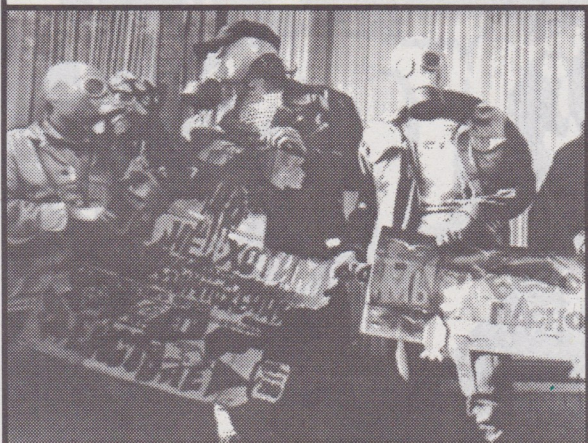
A question pretty hard to quickly answer, so I just reckon and answer quickly:

*"For an illegal demonstration."*

*"And why, for the sake of that, do you get this?"*

This was a question, as they said, not to eyebrow but straight to my eye. So just go for it and answer her why! For the sake of what my comrades, beaten up with truncheons, are now lying down, held at gunpoint at Kuznetskiy Most? What is the point of such protest actions? Any reference to global revolution here sounds neither not in the right place, nor honest.

Why all this, what are we obtaining? Why in the hell all they are getting in the streets? - Journalists are asking, passersby, everyone around. When I go explaining something about libertarian society, the future revolution, deep in my soul I feel some uneasiness. Words sound pathetic and senseless, and I am suffering pains for my inability to pass the gist with my own words. In this post-modern world all words and ideas have become worthless, they wore themselves out. Everything here is unreal and twisted, alienated and objectified. As a rule, all my attempts to explain the idea of street actions with some external motivation end up being some flat and superficial "common places" in which I almost do not believe myself. Indeed, how much may the world change, when 40 people go on the streets with their banners? There are for sure also completely "sensible" actions out there, which have some concrete, not too wide goals, for influencing results of some court case, some law in a process of getting passed, to save some park and so on. In these cases, the success of the action is measured with the resonance it reaches in





mainstream media, and in society in general. And quite often, succeed to influence the situation in general. I did participate in such actions, which are in a strange way similar to picture-taking, of one single, endless movie.

A tight ring of journalists, TV-operators and police surrounding the spot of action, big and beautiful banners, participators of the action are shouting slogans in unison to TV-cameras, somebody gives the same interview to different cameras all over again, every time representing the same, sincere, emotions. A spectacle, played in front of the journalists. The city, in this case, is just a decoration, which could have been set up in a studio. All this deception arouses a deep disgust in any honest person. But watching the evening news, it all seems to be natural and appropriate! Why? Because it all goes well inside the current order of things, according to laws and in the framework of the existing realities.

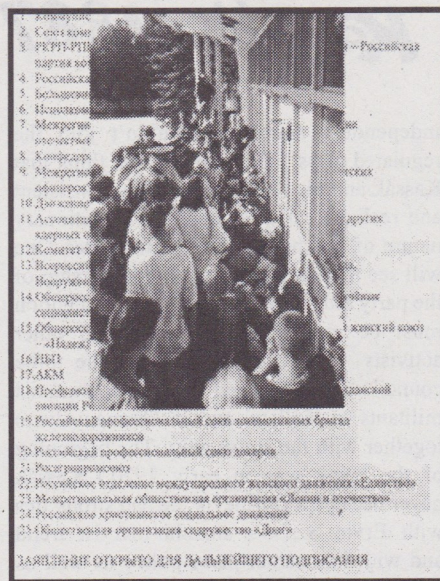
For sure, there are also completely other kinds of actions – spontaneous mass meetings and demonstrations, street blockades, occupations of administrative buildings on a wave of social upheaval. These are often cases of direct action in the very meaning of the word, and there can be no doubt about sensibility of such actions.

But this is not a case of social upheaval, but of a strange, and, from the point of view of a neutral observer, perhaps even awkward and pointless march of 40 persons with flags and a loudspeaker. Mayday - it is more an occasion for a demonstration than a cause of it. When I participate in such actions, I feel a difficulty in explaining to myself why I am doing it. But I participate, because I feel the barest necessity for it.

Every time when I walk alone in the city, past enormous and cold store fronts, past splendid cars that slide on reflections of the street, past indifferent models and people with empty eyes, I try to catch my own surprised reflection that is flashing and disappearing among hundreds of other reflections and noise of this dream city, and to me it also seems that I am just a random reflection, a dream amongst dreams. Whole reality of this city is as if negating my existence, reality of my life. And only pain which I feel from these emotions is a signal that after all, I do exist.

This painful division between internal and external, impossibility of an authentic, eventful life and self-realization in this unreal world, you feel it almost constantly. My "self" is locked up in a prison of loneliness, and all shouts that reach out from this prison, become twisted and interpreted. Only my isolation exists, and television which gives a daily portion of surrogate events. What talk can there be about the meaningfulness of an action, when the life itself in this enchanted world of reflections seems to be mindless and a misunderstanding. In the reality of the capitalistic system, is any thought that goes beyond its framework possible anyway, a thought that goes beyond expediency in a sense of a society of production and

consumption, official politics, discourse of the power? Here my life makes sense just as much as I am an object to what was listed above. In this kingdom of crooked mirrors any honest act seems to be absurd. I for sure wish that the future would be different, that in a libertarian



society people will not have to live through that anymore. And I try to do something for realization of this future, after all, our activity is not only the organization of demonstrations. But how could I be? I live and suffer from division of existence in this very moment. I want to live here and now! And today I may embody this desire only in a revolt.

For sure, revolt is not only about participation to illegal demonstrations. It continuously breaks through mindless routine of daily affairs, at work and at home, when you feel that you become an object, a mere thing for people surrounding you, and when after realization of this fact humiliation becomes unbearable. When you understand,



that it is less humiliating to be beaten up, thrown in jail and even to be killed than to wander your whole life in odd darkness, doubting the fact of your own existence. So instead of just another time fulfilling orders of your boss, you just tell him to back off. Yes, sir. No, sir. Fuck you, sir! And what is the point in that? Almost always you have to find a new job then. But there is a certain sense: that is preservation of yourself, your own dignity. A true moral fulfilment. But this kind of revolt is a very individual one. But when

individual revolt is merging into a collective protest, a kind of outburst is happening, in which a space of untwisted mutual communication and understanding is born. This is something more than a mere revolt. It is a new world that is already existing, although just between of us.

We go, shouting slogans and waving flags, down on Stoleshnikov side street. And suddenly we see, that the square in front of us is partitioned off by a bus full of OMON. Another bus is standing beside it. Amazed OMON is scrambling out, wearing helmets and body armour and armed with truncheons.

Everyone thinks "that's it! There is no way forward". Loudspeaker falls silent, people in front stop in the square, indecisive. And suddenly I hear a loud and audacious voice of S., "No to the police state!!!" How can I say anything about expediency here? This is how doomed people shout confidently in a scaffold. And others are joining ever more loudly. And we pass by perplexed OMON. Is there any sense in all this? Obviously, only the existential one. Will the world change from it? I think yes, because it was us who changed. Raoul Vaneigem wrote "People will be together only in a common wretchedness as long as each isolated being refuses to understand that a gesture of liberation, however weak and clumsy it may be, always bears an authentic communication, an adequate personal message." When you hit the streets, no matter how few you are, you are fulfilling a desire to expand your subjectivity in a totalized reality of a world dominated by objects. And this world, that seems to be unshakable, is forced to slow down, to take a break and to back off! The current order of things is disturbed, and you feel how foundations of everyday reality are shaking. Then you feel that you are really alive, right here and right now. You do not live like you always feel like, but like you have to live: like if every moment would be the last one. And the city around you is transforming into a genuine space of your life. In this breakthrough of liberation you start to feel solidarity and unity with other people involved. "I rebel – therefore we exist" as Albert Camus said. And joy, which it makes you to feel in a way that is difficult to compare with anything else.

Standing on the side, somebody says: "Just a typical animal instinct, to mess around in a heap of similars. What is so special in it?". To reclaim the city, to gain authentic space and authentic experience of existence, to gain oneself at last. To live a split second of freedom. It is not that much, but not that little either. And the main thing that gives me hope, is that one day the space of our life starts to expand constantly, not merely occasionally. That my revolt, that expanded to a protest with solidarity, sooner or later grows towards a revolutionary resistance. And that day, perhaps, the whole world will become arena of our genuine life.

Nataliya Dmitrieva  
Avtonom #25



# ANARCHIST POETRY FROM EE

## Vera Lajos Kassák 1887–1967

Lajos Kassák was a working class movementary poet, writer, editor, avant-gardist, activist. He was born in one of the god-forsaken places of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in Érsekújvár. First he was working as a metal-worker in Győr and in Budapest, where he got to know the social democrat movement. He started to publish his writings from 1908. He soon sickened of the disgusting conditions of „genteel Hungary” and shaped his course Western Europe. Overpassing Wien, Germany, Belgium, France he got to know the contemporary working class movement and modern art. His fellow-passenger was Emil Szittya, an anarchist sympathizer who was on the move his life long and led a free and easy life.

His first volume was published in 1915, entitled *Eposz Wagner maszkjában* (Epic in Wagnerian Mould). He came back to Budapest during the World War I. and started his first class struggle-avant-gardist journal, called *Tett* (The Action), but the bourgeois censorship banned it in 1916 because of its anti-militarist trend. Mention must be made that within the conditions of the conservative separation it was a brave and revolutionary act to publish such a radical journal against the nationalistic general atmosphere. In November he launched a new journal, called *Ma* (Today), which was a more mature, better edited one and it was shaped to a brilliant, class struggle-avant-gardist journal following in *Die Aktion's* (Pfemfert) steps. It published works from Mühsam, R. Luxemburg, F. Jung, Trockij, Lenin, Rubiner, G. Grosz, Tatlin, Majakovszkij and whole generations of Hungarian activists. It gave place to the whole of the bourgeois-abominator avant-gardist movement from *De Stijl* to Fernin and Leger. The editors of the journal were also committed proletarian writers, poets.

independent and they wouldn't join the regulated mass. Before one would think that Kassák and his fellows were very consistent and realized early the counter-revolutionary nature of Bolshevism, peruse the letter. One will see that they criticized the leadership of the party only as an opposition. (But mention must be made that in this period other activists – for example most of the to-be council communist and anarcho-communist militants in Holland and in Germany were together with the Bolsheviks. The beginning of the break was in early 1920.) Kassák never became a Bolshevik, he had strong ties with Ervin Szabó's anarcho-marxist trend and with its counter-party policy as well as its romantic moralism. As he was very individualistic he hadn't tolerated any organisational form, thus he was drifting in the sea of diverse working class movementary trends. Nevertheless his commitment to the proletariat was unquestionable.

After the defeat of the revolution he emigrated to Wien where he carried on editing his journal and started a new one, called *2x2*. In the latter he published his gigantic autobiographical vision, entitled *A ló meghal a madarak kirepülnek* (The Horse Dies, the Birds Fly Out) an aggressive proletarian class struggle poem with futurist, dadaist-expressionist features. Kassák was becoming more and more known, his books were published, made exhibitions, wrote manifestos, poems, debated with the social democracy and the Bolsheviks. He started to write his autobiographical novel in 1926, entitled *Egy ember élete* (A Man's Life). It's a colossal encyclopædia of the contemporary Hungarian working class movement. It's a pity that the entire book has never been translated into any

world

own workers' choral societies, theatres, excursion societies under the aegis of the dilatory Proletkult. The journal was popular frontist, but not in the accustomed way because it gave place to antagonistic trends (for example Paul Mattick and the radical marxists against antifascist authors). Kassák wanted to unify the different socialist trends and didn't discern that there are no diverse socialisms just socialism, in other words communism – communist movement and struggle which are inflexible, world revolutionary and attempting to totality.

He was editing his journal by a very subjective approach, but Kassák had never changed his colours. Even if it's true that we have to criticize him, because he emphasized his personality (even if he spoke about the struggle of the „collective individual”) and put himself above the organized class struggle. As a matter of fact he became reformist after 1924. But in this case it would be a simplification to submit this because Kassák formed a strange mixture of reformism and revolutionism. He had never had will to power, he had never tried to acquire a bourgeois position. After the defeat of the proletarian revolution of 1919 he wrote a genial poem about the events and about this work, entitled *Máglyák énekelnek* (Bonfires are singing) we can say that in this period he didn't become reconciled to reality. From the mid twenties he remained without self-control and his political opinions „thinned down”, but he didn't become a tamed dog of the bourgeois order. At the same time Kassák's works are expropriated as attachments of the bourgeois orgies which are held in the museums. Kassák's working

languages.

Kassák returned to

Budapest in 1926 and started to publish a new journal, called *Dokumentum* (Document), but his avant-gardist attempts fell on deaf ears. So he launched another journal in 1928, called *Munka* (Work), which was politicizing more directly. It gave space to the forces which opposed Bolshevism. The Hungarian Stalinist party condemned the journal as Trotskyist, but this was not true. We would say that it was a very important creative shop with far leftist trends with its

class

movementary activity is dissembled – what remains instead of the social struggle is the vision of the civil nihilism about the freedom and superiority of art. If we let this...

**Barricade Collective**  
2006. winter



## ARTISANS (MESTEREMBEREK)

We are not scientists nor pensive, eloquent  
prelates

nor are we heroes whom fifes-and-drums  
sent off to battle

and who now lie lifeless at the bottom of  
oceans, upon sunny mountains,  
and in blasted fields all over, all over the  
whole world.

Under the blue sky-vault the hours now  
bathe in evil blood.

But we are already far from all this. We sit  
under the dark tenements:

silent and whole like indivisible matter  
itself.

Yesterday we still wept and tomorrow,  
tomorrow perhaps the century shall admire  
our work.

Yes! for fresh strength already booms from  
our ugly squat fingers,

and tomorrow we'll drink to the topping off  
upon the new walls.

Tomorrow we throw life, shaped of  
asbestos, iron and immense granite, upon  
the ruins and away with the dream  
decorations, moonshine and music halls!

We shall build huge skyscrapers and, for a  
toy, a replica of the Eiffel Tower.

Bridges with feet of basalt. New signs on  
the squares, from singing steel

and we'll push screaming, fiery engines  
upon the dead rails,

to shine and run their courses like the  
dizzying meteors of the sky.

We'll mix new colors and stretch new  
cables under the ocean

and we'll impregnate the mature, unmated  
women so that the earth shall nurse a new  
race and the new poets who sing the new  
face of time in front of us shall rejoice:

in ROME, PARIS, MOSCOW, BERLIN,  
LONDON and BUDAPEST.

## THE DICTATOR (A DIKTÁTOR)

He's sunk forever. There's no doubt.  
Never has there been an uglier death,  
never more implacable hate,  
the cowards deserted him  
and the flatterers betrayed him.

He stepped out from the forest of banners  
and yelled and stamped his feet ominously  
those who had eyes he sent to their death,  
those who had tongues he sent to their  
death,

he wanted to spill  
the blood of an entire nation  
finally at last he lies crushed  
in the snow, in urine, or under the flaming  
ruins.

Was he punished by having to kill  
himself,

Is he guilty, who killed him,  
Has the world become any poorer  
without those slave-driving days and those  
devastating nights?

No! No!

Now the black sky has split.

Now the new seed

quicken into life.

## THE FACTORY (A GYÁR)

Its expanse is gigantic  
a structure of engineering hot and cold  
continuously emitting  
eager and frightful sounds like herds of  
elephants.

Once it was my home;  
today it is the river of the past  
contaminated with oil and soot;  
home to the people of tools and materials  
who rebel at times

to tear a piece of bread  
out of the iron  
from the merciless machines  
and from safes.

Its walls and gates  
are black from the curses of generations.  
Its huge chimney stacks  
feed smoke to the wandering clouds.

Neither flowers nor birds have in their  
vicinity.

Humans alone are capable of survival  
hereabouts

Once it was my home;  
the source of anguish and sorrows-  
I have not departed too far from you.  
I still have no glasses with gilded frames  
nor white collars with black bow-ties  
I do not loiter about staring at shop  
windows

where lace panties and blood-red nail  
polish chant in unison.

With my glance.  
I guard your indigenous laws

My weakened lungs  
the ten fingers of my hands  
the bent contour of my back-  
and one thousands five-hundred poems.  
bore inside my heart  
are blooming now with a reddish-black  
colour

and they all remind me of you.

Often on my I turn  
back to see  
with open eyes  
with more of  
a gleam in  
my eyes

to see that you're not the old monster  
of stones and iron any longer.  
You bathe in the rays of the sunlight  
and dry yourself in linens of smiles.  
You disgorge your filth  
like someone who's overstuffed himself  
and you kindle the lamps  
And prepare a bed for those who're  
exhausted

You're no longer as merciless  
and so neither are you heavily bombarded  
with curses.

Those who enter your gates  
aren't trying to escape any more

Leaning against a post  
I look at the streets stretching in front of the  
people  
and the houses that welcome them

## LIKE THIS (ÍGY)

Neither the interminable patches of land  
nor crags with frozen stone-geometry  
my true home is the city  
with its gangrened damp-walled houses  
with its chimney-stacks to scrawl the sky  
black

with its endlessly swarming crowds  
with its knots of children yelling and  
squealing

with its half-bald dogs  
with its amorous cats  
with its rats emerging from nocturnal  
sewers.

And I love the feverishly clattering  
machines

bathed in oil  
gorged in flames  
workmen's wood and iron constructions  
looking like fearsome fireside pets.

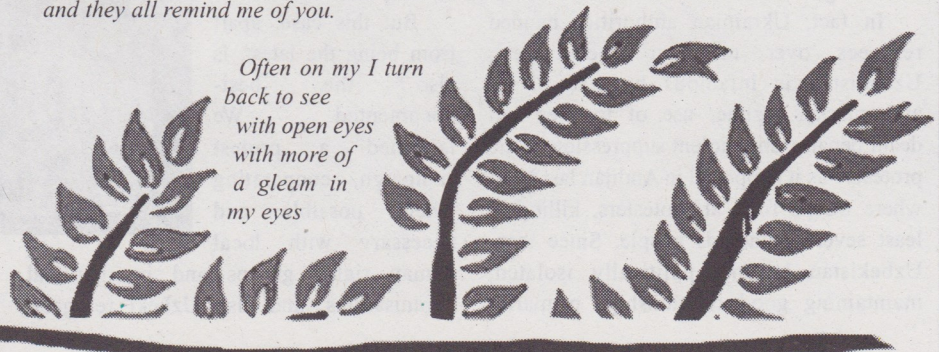
Idols of my early days  
that made me leave my birthplace  
my school and church.

I have served them and praised them.

They became  
goal of my vagabondage  
seed of my verses.

Day and night I drum out their rhythm  
and write my books  
with my brain's eternal discontent.

The End /Salut.





# INITIATIVE "NO BORDERS - KYIV" HAS BEGUN A CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEPORTATION OF UZBEKI REFUGEES FROM UKRAINE

From 1 to 6 February 9 refugees from Uzbekistan, living in Crimea, Ukraine, applied to the Ukrainian authorities for an official asylum; 2 more officially (talking to the UNHCR-Ukraine office) claimed their



intention to do so within the nearest time possible. On the 7th of February they were all arrested by the Ukrainian special police forces. Concerned with their fate, UNHCR officials contacted the authorities - and they were reassured that their cases will be processed in due order.

But on 13 February their applications were rejected (none of the involved parties has been informed about that), and on the 14th of February 10 of them were deported with force to Uzbekistan - the place from where they tried to escape from - and, by numerous, while still officially unconfirmed reports, are since then detained in Tashkent prison (some reports claim that they are dispersed around different prisons in the country). The fate of the 11th refugee is still unknown: SBU (Ukrainian security service) claimed that he is released, but nobody - neither from his community, nor from his friends - has seen him since then, and there are well-grounded fears for his health.

In fact, Ukrainian authorities handed refugees over to their executioners. Uzbekistan is infamous because of its authoritarian regime, use of tortures and death penalty, and violent suppression of the protests - as it happened in Andijan last May, where troops fired at protesters, killing at least several hundreds people. Since then, Uzbekistan became politically isolated, maintaining good relationships primarily

with Russia, - at the same time closing down a number of Western organisations' regional offices, like BBC, Radio "Liberty", "Freedom House"; the latest has been a country office of UNHCR, closed on the 20 of March (one month has been given to complete all the operations). In the recent weeks, UNHCR has been inquiring about the fate of the refugees deported from Ukraine.

By the way, Uzbekistan is one of the few states which have not signed the Geneva Convention on refugees of 1951.

At the end of 2005, the Uzbeki government has held a number of showcase trials concerning Andijan

events, which resulted in prison sentences from 12 to 22 years. After that, a number of oppositional politicians and human rights activists were also sentenced in the court to long-term imprisonment.

## BEGINNING THE CAMPAIGN

This is only the latest case of forced deportation from Ukraine to their home countries - or places where they are persecuted. Even concerning only the Uzbeki refugees, cases like this happened for quite a long time. In 2001 four refugees have been deported from Ukraine to Uzbekistan. They were tortured and still remain in prison. In August 2005 18 members of the oppositional Uzbeki party "Byrlyk" have been deported from Ukraine, and, according to some reports, were tortured.

But this case, apart from being the latest, is also the best-documented. We launched a protest campaign, cooperating where possible and necessary with local human rights groups and international organisations, and also Uzbeki refugees'

community, demanding:

- ★ keeping the fate of the deported under the close supervision and putting a pressure on the Uzbekistani government (unfortunately, hopes of getting them out of Uzbekistan, which is internationally isolated after Andijan events, and is supported only by Moscow, are next to none);
- ★ that Ukrainian government publicly acknowledges this as a grave mistake, and steps will be taken in order to prevent this from happening in the future;
- ★ that all informations concerning the case will be made public;
- ★ that those responsible for this scandalous event will be punished.

Also we tried to draw attention to the fact that the whole migration control process, strengthening of the borders and setting up of the new detention centres are pressured for and financed by the EU structures - either directly, or indirectly (via International Organisation for Migration).

In this way, we hope not only to do justice to the victims of this scandalous persecution, but also to help those who will have to claim asylum in Ukraine afterwards - so that the authorities know that their steps are closely monitored and reacted upon.

Our first protest took part on the 28th of February. About 40 people protested first in front of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where we staged a performance: refugees tried to cross the border line, while SBU (Ukrainian



Security Service), State Committee for Nationalities and Migration (SCNM, the



state authority responsible for the asylums) and MFA pushed them out, painting them with "blood". The "authorities" won; their hands were covered with blood – which has shown that they have sent asylum seekers to be tortured and probably killed.

Then we moved to the SCNM building, which we decorated with the pictures of Andijan massacre and unrolled a piece of white fabric, which people painted with "bloody" hand-prints rights on the spot. This piece and other Andijan photos then were moved to the embassy of Uzbekistan.

What surprised us, is the visible fact, that in all the three institutions they were quite afraid of us. MFA has been the only authority



which tried to go into a discussion: one of the officials came out to take our statement, and tried to justify their point, but has decided very quickly to go back into the building as he couldn't find any convincing arguments. In the SCNM, another official at first was very arrogant, but after reading the statement suddenly tried to convince protesters that "one shouldn't take radical roots" and that "we all are human beings, and therefore we can find a common language". The embassy has been sealed by the cops, and its staff just refused to go out or talk to us.

Ukrainian authorities didn't expect such a reaction (letters of protest from different NGOs, national as well as international ones, OCSE and even US State Department; also - public protests such as the one we staged in Kyiv on 28th of February). They have to find their way out of this mess, and started to make some contradictory statements. First, it has been claimed that, after their asylum application were rejected, they became "illegal migrants". But it turned out that, by claiming this, Ukrainian government violates a number of international treaties as well as the national legislation, including Convention on the refugees of 1951 and the Convention against the tortures. The next version has been - that they were also involved in "criminal activities" of an unspecified nature - but this did not help them neither. After our protests SBU used the

most usual thing, claiming that they were "terrorists" belonging to the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) - providing no proof at all; these claims are rejected by the whole community of Uzbeki refugees here.

### 1:0 – WE SCORE

Protests and public statements finally forced an head of the presidential administration to acknowledge what we and human right groups said from the very beginning. In an interview to a local newspaper he acknowledged that: 1) Uzbeki refugees were deported against the law; 2) that their deportation has been ordered by the current Uzbeki government. But he still carried on defending the deportation, upholding an absurd claim that they were "terrorists"; again, no proof has been given.

Apart from this, he complained that "Ukraine has lost an informational war" on the case. We could only laugh that he identifies a few government and security officials with "Ukraine" - and were not surprised to find ourselves to be "at war", even an informational one, with the government. So we had to carry on our combat missions...

The second protest we staged in front of the SBU office. After the local "Amnesty International" group informed the authorities that we were going to protest there, we expected quite an harsh reaction from the police; but they went along a different route. Upon coming to the place of the protest, we have found their activists of "Bratstvo" - a far-right organisation, which under previous government has been implicated in some secret operations ordered by the secret services against opposition. This time they came in order to tear our action apart with noise, with stupid banners and also physically. Afterwards we learned that they have got the first information about the case... that very morning. We could only guess who supplied it.)

Nevertheless we staged our performance

there: some activists were dressed and marked as secret service people; they caught people marked as "refugees" and put them into the cage. Then refugees were taken out of the cage one by one, and SBU spokeswoman re-marked them as "terrorists". When every single "refugee" has been turned into "terrorist", we announced that now we're going to submit our personal inquiries to the SBU, and came into the office. It was quite a surprise for the cops; only 10-20 seconds afterwards they had rushed into the building and, together with the plainclothed SBU operatives, threw us out. But no arrests were made or any harm inflicted: they have realised very quickly that actually we didn't do anything that we could be accused of.

At the same time, we shouted slogans and blew our whistles against "Bratstvo" wankers, and our number has grew – while they started to disappear. At the end of the protest we were up to 40 – while only 8 people from their side remained there, with their stupid flags (one of them was of pro-Putin far-right "Eurasian" movement) and a loudspeaker.

The real SBU spokeswoman also came out to see the performance – and has been visibly disappointed about the role, "she" played in it.

### DEPORTATION AND FORTRESS EUROPE

The third time, on the 23rd of March, we set up a picket line in front of the Cinema Building. On that day it has been a place of the official EU event: an exhibition "EU projects in Ukraine".



We – about 5 people affiliated to Amnesty and about 5 from our group – put up or held huge posters, which depicted the heads of SCNM and SBU receiving money from EU, and on the others – them as some mythical blood-thirsty creatures, which hand





people over to their torturers. Also, we spread leaflets explaining to people that one of the major EU projects - "turning Ukraine into Fortress Europe buffer zone" - is not presented at the exhibition; but that nevertheless, the same official bodies, financed and supported by the EU, hold refugees and migrants in terrible conditions in Ukrainian detention camps and deport refugees to face tortures and deaths.

The administration of the building was clearly very unhappy about this and had threatened to call the police - but had to step back and tolerate us until the end of the day.

Most of those who visited the exhibition got our leaflets, many engaged themselves into conversations and reacted very positively.

Apart from the street protests, we are trying to use other means possible - spreading the word in the media, and asking people to submit official inquiries to the government bodies' offices, so that they know: this case is not forgotten, and they have every single time to reply something to every single inquiry.

We are moving on, and asking activists from other countries to support us: Ukrainian government is still much more sensitive to the international reaction than to the domestic one. So petitions, and, especially - protests in front of the Ukrainian embassies and consulates can be very useful and productive!

In case you do support us with your action, whether it be protest or petition, - please let us know by mailing some information about it to:

grassroots.kyiv@gmail.com

At the moment it looks like we still got a long way ahead, but we keep on putting pressure, and on call for solidarity. Together we can help those who can become "Uzbeki refugees" of tomorrow, delivering them from the intolerable cruelty of the state.

**NoBorder-Kyiv activists**



**More information can be found on the web-sites of HRW, AI, or on our own web-site concerning this campaign:**

<http://nobordereast.mahost.org/uzbek2006.html>

COLUMNS COLUMNS



## NESTOR MAKHNO WAS A PRISON DEMOLISHER! A TRIP TO GULYAI- POLYE

To spend time in eastern Ukraine might cause wet feed if you travel like us in the middle of February. Arriving with the night train from Kiev, we planned to take a look at the region where Nestor Makhno was struggling

together with other anarchists against the white troops of the monarchs and the Bolsheviks around the time of the October revolution. As I mentioned already, the streets were full of melting snow and water was running on the pavements. A taxi-driver in the city of Zaporodja offered to bring us to Gulyai-Polye on his way home, if we would pay him what we would pay for the bus. A good choice because we travelled even faster and quite cheap, as we realized on the way back in the bus.

Gulyai-Polye is a small village, where a museum is located, including original material from the time of Makhno. People in the streets and in the museum are positive about him, but see the history also focused on the Cossacks and Makhno was Cossack as well. His relatives were hiding and collecting photos, pamphlets and flags throughout the soviet time, where he was called a terrorist and criminal. Till the 80's, there was nothing to read about the anarchist movement in the region in the museum but that they were criminals. The relation to the communists was

quite difficult for Makhno. He went to prison in tsarist Russia and was strictly against the monarchs, even the Cossack monarchists. While the revolution times there were around 40.000 people in Makhno movement and they were three times willing to cooperate with the Bolsheviks but were fooled, as the stuff in the museum explained. A lot of them were killed by the Bolsheviks and Trotskyists and finally, Makhno had to flee to the west in the 20's and the movement was destroyed.

He went several times to prison and published anti-prison statements; Makhnovist fighters even destroyed some local prisons and therefore they were seen as criminals by their opponents.

The museum contains as well a lot of not spectacular regional topics like farmers meetings, sports and soviet propaganda. But if you are anyway on the road, just check it, everybody in Gulyai-Polye knows the museum and it is easy to find.

**Finn37**

COLUMNS COLUMNS



# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

THE NEVER COMPLETE LIST OF ANARCHIST GROUPS,  
PROJECTS AND COLLECTIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE

## WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM

[www.altermost.org.pl](http://www.altermost.org.pl) (good english)  
[www.abb.hardcore.lt](http://www.abb.hardcore.lt) (bad english)

### ARMENIA

- ★ "Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; [vaga@freenet.am](mailto:vaga@freenet.am)
- ★ Armenia Indymedia - [vahagn@bem.am](mailto:vahagn@bem.am)

### BELARUS

- ★ ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o. box 217; [intolerant@autonom.zzn.com](mailto:intolerant@autonom.zzn.com); [www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru](http://www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru)
- ★ AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk; [restless81@mail.com](mailto:restless81@mail.com)
- ★ Anarchist Library - Minsk; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)
- ★ Anti-McDonald - <http://belmac.narod.ru>; <http://kompaktor.narod.ru>
- ★ Antyfa - antifascist group; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)
- ★ Autonomous Action / Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno
- ★ Autonomous Action / Minsk (Belarus) [belarus@avtonom.org](mailto:belarus@avtonom.org); [www.belarus.avtonom.org](http://www.belarus.avtonom.org)
- ★ BAF/ Belarusian Anarchy Front - [baf@list.ru](mailto:baf@list.ru)
- ★ Belarusian Linux Community - [www.linux.hitech.by](http://www.linux.hitech.by)
- ★ "Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; [ecoaction@tut.by](mailto:ecoaction@tut.by)
- ★ FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist - Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134; Novopoloc; [nuts-1@rambler.ru](mailto:nuts-1@rambler.ru)
- ★ Food Not Bombs - Minsk - [FNBminsk@yandex.ru](mailto:FNBminsk@yandex.ru)
- ★ "Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; [kсения.izberg@mail.ru](mailto:kсения.izberg@mail.ru)
- ★ KDS "Razam" / Confederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; [kds-razam@tut.by](mailto:kds-razam@tut.by); [www.razam.by.ru](http://www.razam.by.ru)
- ★ "Navinki" - satirical anarchist quarterly newspaper; Minsk; [pauluk@tut.by](mailto:pauluk@tut.by); [www.navinki.net](http://www.navinki.net)
- ★ "Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; [rebelgirls@mail.ru](mailto:rebelgirls@mail.ru)
- ★ [www.anarchistory.boom.ru](http://www.anarchistory.boom.ru) - history of anarchy in Belarus
- ★ [www.375crew.org](http://www.375crew.org) - d.i.y. political punk / hardcore culture of Belarus

### BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

- ★ Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" - Banjaluka; [ab\\_useyu@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk)
- ★ [www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com](http://www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com) - anarchist info from BiH

### BULGARIA

- ★ "Anarho Saprotiva" (Anarchist Resistance) - newspaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>
- ★ "Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspaper / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>; [svoboda@bulgaria.com](mailto:svoboda@bulgaria.com)
- ★ "Anarchy in BG" - <http://change.to/anarchy>
- ★ [www.stand.at/struggle](http://www.stand.at/struggle) - anarchist web-site with lot of interesting historical material

### CROATIA

- ★ AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - [anfema@zamir.net](mailto:anfema@zamir.net); [www.anfema.tk](http://www.anfema.tk)
- ★ "Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajevo 5; 52100 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>; [info@monteparadiso.hr](mailto:info@monteparadiso.hr)
- ★ Rijeka anarchist initiative - [www.rai.anarhija.org](http://www.rai.anarhija.org); [rai200@net.hr](mailto:rai200@net.hr); [anarhist\\_ri@yahoo.com](mailto:anarhist_ri@yahoo.com)
- ★ "Skatula" - infoshop in Rijeka; u Kruznoj 8; open Wed&Thurs.17-21

★ "Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in Cakovec; adress: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce, Croatia

- ★ Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; [zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com](mailto:zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com); [www.solidarnost.mahost.org](http://www.solidarnost.mahost.org)
- ★ [www.stocitas.org](http://www.stocitas.org) - Antiauthoritarian publisher
- ★ "sto citas?" b.shop Zagreb Preradoviceva 34

### CZECHIA

- ★ Antifascist Action (AFA) - [afa-praha@anarchismus.org](mailto:afa-praha@anarchismus.org); [www.antifa.cz](http://www.antifa.cz)
- ★ Anarcho-feminist group - [anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz](mailto:anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz); [anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz](http://anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz)
- ★ -1155; KPK Praha (ex-Solidarita) - [praha@solidarita.org](mailto:praha@solidarita.org); [www.solidarita.org](http://www.solidarita.org); tel: +420 604 247 218
- regional group of Brno, [brno@solidarita.org](mailto:brno@solidarita.org); tel: +420 732 616 695
- ★ Anarchistické sdružení Uherské Hradiště - Anarchist group of Uherské Hradiště, e-mail [uhas@email.cz](mailto:uhas@email.cz)
- ★ "A-kontra" - anarchist magazine, c/o CAS, PO Box 223, Praha 1, 111 21, tel: +420 605 903 098, e-mail: [a-kontra@csaf.cz](mailto:a-kontra@csaf.cz); [www.a-kontra.net](http://www.a-kontra.net)
- ★ "Bloody Mary" - riot-grrl/anarchist zine, [bloodymary@bust.com](mailto:bloodymary@bust.com), c/o CAS, p.o. box 223, 111 21 Praha 1
- ★ CSAF - Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation - P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1, e-mail: [praha@csaf.cz](mailto:praha@csaf.cz); [www.csaf.cz](http://www.csaf.cz)
- Kladno, e-mail: [kladno@csaf.cz](mailto:kladno@csaf.cz)
- Northern Czechia, e-mail: [sever@csaf.cz](mailto:sever@csaf.cz)
- Kutnohorsko, e-mail: [csaf.kutnohorsko@email.cz](mailto:csaf.kutnohorsko@email.cz), e-mail: [kutnohorsko@csaf.cz](mailto:kutnohorsko@csaf.cz); tel: +420 721 732 844
- Jihlava, e-mail: [csaf.jihlava@email.cz](mailto:csaf.jihlava@email.cz); tel: +420 721 732 844
- Eastern Czechia, e-mail: [undertakerdis@seznam.cz](mailto:undertakerdis@seznam.cz)
- ★ FSA-MAP - Federation of anarchist groups, [info@anarchismus.org](mailto:info@anarchismus.org); [www.anarchismus.org](http://www.anarchismus.org); international secretary: [fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org](mailto:fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org)
- Northern Czechia, [fas-sever@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-sever@anarchismus.org)
- Zlinsko, [fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org)
- Prague, [fas-praha@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-praha@anarchismus.org)
- Brno, [fas-brno@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-brno@anarchismus.org)
- Jihlava, [fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org)
- Pardubice, [fas-pardubice@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-pardubice@anarchismus.org)

★ Info Café "Krtkova kolona" - (anarchist info-café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubenec, e-mail: [kk@czechcore.cz](mailto:kk@czechcore.cz); [kk.czechcore.cz](http://kk.czechcore.cz); Tel: 605 983 191

★ Hudebni klub "Za vraty" - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, e-mail: [international@zavraty.com](mailto:international@zavraty.com); [www.zavraty.com](http://www.zavraty.com); tel: +420 723 555 287

★ Squat "Milada" - Prague only squat, Na kindlovce (small house next to the student residential halls), Praha, [squat\\_milada@centrum.cz](mailto:squat_milada@centrum.cz)

### ESTONIA

- ★ Food Not Bombs - Tallinn - [videomees@hot.ee](mailto:videomees@hot.ee)
- ★ [www.hot.ee/anarhism](http://www.hot.ee/anarhism) - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

### HUNGARY

- ★ AK57 DIY Club (half squat) - 1074 Budapest, dohány u. 57. ring 128 at the doorbell;

[ak57@indymedia.hu](mailto:ak57@indymedia.hu); <http://ak57.freeblog.hu>; sms +36 20 488 8629

- ★ AFK - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); [www.socialdisease.tk](http://www.socialdisease.tk)
- ★ Barricade Collective - anarchist group; <http://www.anarkom.lapja.hu>
- ★ "Gondolkodo Antikvarium" - anarchist bookshop; [www.ainfok.ini.hu](http://www.ainfok.ini.hu); [gondolkodo@citromail.hu](mailto:gondolkodo@citromail.hu) Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18
- ★ Ruganegra - (street folklore staff); [www.ruganegra.tk](http://www.ruganegra.tk)
- ★ Social Disease Kollektiva (anarchopunk collective) - <http://socialdisease.tk>
- ★ [www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo](http://www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo) - anarchist web-site

### KAZAKHSTAN

- ★ [www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru](http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru) - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

### LATVIA

- ★ Pretspars Collective - zine, distro, web, actions - <http://pretspars.hardcore.lt>; [pretspars@riseup.net](mailto:pretspars@riseup.net)
- ★ "Zabadaks" - DIY culture house, [zabba@inbox.lv](mailto:zabba@inbox.lv); [www.nekac.lv](http://www.nekac.lv); tel. +371 3320666.
- DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia; [www.nekac.lv](mailto:www.nekac.lv); [maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv](mailto:maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv)

### LITHUANIA

- ★ [active@hardcore.lt](mailto:active@hardcore.lt) - LT activists network
- ★ "Posedziu Sale" - DIY culture centre; Savanoriu str. 206 (4th floor), city of Kaunas; [simas@dr.com](mailto:simas@dr.com); tel. +37067750363; <http://posedis.mums.lt>
- ★ [booking@hardcore.lt](mailto:booking@hardcore.lt) - booking in Lithuania
- ★ [www.hardcore.lt](http://www.hardcore.lt) - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

### MACEDONIA

- ★ direct action - anarchist collective [directa@freemail.com.mk](mailto:directa@freemail.com.mk)
- ★ fuck yoga - a distro and label [neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com](mailto:neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com)
- ★ kaka - a distro and label [surovo@yahoo.com](mailto:surovo@yahoo.com)
- ★ napravi sam - a collective [radexxx2000@yahoo.com](mailto:radexxx2000@yahoo.com)
- ★ teror 13 - a infoshop [info@teror13.tk](mailto:info@teror13.tk) [www.teror13.anarhija.org](http://www.teror13.anarhija.org)

### POLAND

- ★ ABC/ACK - [www.ack.most.org.pl](http://www.ack.most.org.pl)
- Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121. [biuletyn@ack.w.pl](mailto:biuletyn@ack.w.pl)
- Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.
- ★ Anarchist Library - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.
- ★ Anarchist Library - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.
- ★ "A-TAK" - anarchist magazine from Krakow; [atak@poprostu\(contact\);](mailto:atak@poprostu(contact);) [atak.dystrybucja@wp.pl](mailto:atak.dystrybucja@wp.pl) (distro); [www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html](http://www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html)
- ★ "A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. [cube@zigzag.pl](mailto:cube@zigzag.pl)
- ★ "Bractwo Trojka" - anarchist publishing house from Poznan; [bractwo\\_trojka@wp.pl](mailto:bractwo_trojka@wp.pl); [www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl](http://www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl)
- ★ "Bunkier" ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 35; Torun; [stagnation@wp.pl](mailto:stagnation@wp.pl)
- ★ "C-4" - alternative culture centre in Lodz



## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

(ul. Weglowa 4).

- ★ **Chaos Grrrl** – anarchist-feminist zine from Warsaw; chaosgrrrlz@o2.pl
- ★ **"Czarny Blok" ("Black Bloc")** – anarchist publication in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26
- ★ **"Czarna Emilka" (Black Emily)** – local of GWA (Group of Warsaw Anarchists) in the very centre of the city
- ★ **"Czarny Pajak" ("Black Spider")** – anarchist space with discussion club, movie-projections, anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz; www.czs.org; maciek@riseup.net
- ★ **Dziewczyny w Akeji (Girls in Action)** – anarchist feminist group in Bialystok; www.dziewczynywakcji.prv.pl; dziewczynywakcji@wp.pl
- ★ **"Elblaska"** – squat in Warsaw
- ★ **Emancypunx** – anarchy-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78; www.emancypunx.com; emancypunx@o2.pl
- ★ **FA (Anarchist Federation)** – federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.
  - **FA- virtual collective secretary** - biurofa@go2.pl
  - **FA-Biala Podlaska** - fabp@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Bialystok** - fa.bialystok@op.pl
  - **FA-Czestochowa** - akielasiak@wp.pl
  - **FA/RSA Gdansk** - jwal@pg.gda.pl
  - **FA-Inowroclaw** - pychu@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Krakow** - lukasdab@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Lublin** - falublin@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Lodz** - falodz@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Opole** - sobol13@o2.pl
  - **FA-Ostrowiec Sw.** - marcin@natura.most.org.pl
  - **FA-Poznan** - fa-poznan@rozbrat.org
  - **FA-Rzeszow** - xjedrusx@o2.pl
  - **FA-Slupsk** - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA/RSA Sochaczew** - antinazi@friko6.onet.pl
  - **FA-Szczecin** - fa\_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl
  - **FA-Warszawa** - natakr@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Warszawa/Praga** - fapraga@o2.pl & fapraga@gmail.com
  - **FA-Wroclaw** - ahm@o2.pl
  - **FA Zyrardow** - sidtom@poczta.wp.pl
- ★ **Food Not Bombs**
  - **Gdansk** - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45.
  - **Olsztyn** - edelweiss@o2.pl.
  - **Poznan** - fnb@rozbrat.org
  - **Warsaw** - fnb@op.pl; www.fnb.wp.pl
- www.rozbrat.org/fnb.htm, we serve food every Sunday at west train station in Poznan
- **Rzeszow** - ul. Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel. 602769138.
- **Gliwice** - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com
- www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl
- ★ **Feminist & Anarchist Feminist Calendar** - feminikalendarz06@interia.pl
- ★ **"Freedom"** – Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@go2.pl
- ★ **Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc"** (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.
- ★ **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"** Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.) Open: Mon.-Fri. 18<sup>30</sup> - 20<sup>00</sup> or longer, Sun. 14<sup>00</sup>-17<sup>00</sup> plus by appointment and during events (summer 2005 closed Aug. 15-31); fapraga@gmail.com; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop,
- ★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers Initiative of FA)** – federation of groups linked to

FA focusing on support for workers;

- ★ **IP-FA / Szczecin** – Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.
- ★ **IP-FA / Silesia** – po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa\_silesia@hoga.pl
- ★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers Initiative)** – anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan; www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl
- ★ **Kolektyw Autonomistów (Collective of Autonomists)** – group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl
- ★ **"Kromera"** – squat/culture centre; ul. Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.
- ★ **LadyFest** – there are few Lady-fests in Poland (in Lodz, Wroclaw and Warsaw); www.ladyfest.webpark.pl; ladyfestwawa@o2.pl
- ★ **"Lesbians, Gays and Their Friends"** – festival in Wroclaw with conference, workshops, films, street actions http://www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/ (co-organized by the anarchy-feminist groups)
- ★ **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**
  - **Krakow** - testcyf@kr.edu.pl
  - **Poznan** - lets@poland.com
- ★ **Liberta** – anarchist-feminist group in Wroclaw; libertagrrrl@o2.pl
- ★ **"Little Mary"** – anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul. Warszawska 249/25;
- ★ **"Mac Pariadka"** – anarchist magazine in polish; pariadka@polbox.com
- ★ **"Marcowanie"** – anarchist-feminist mailing list, bulletin and regular women camp
- ★ **Obin (Warsaw)** – radical street-art collective organising workshops, internet and silkscreen for free; www.obin.org
- ★ **"Pilon"** – underground bar/cafe open Mo, Th, Fr and Sa from 7pm; address: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski – Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl web: http://www.pilon.za.pl
- ★ **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** – www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. pkropotkin@wp.pl
- ★ **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** – anarchist female cheer leader team based in Warszawa; rchpl@o2.pl
- ★ **Refuse** – underground label & mailorder (books, zines, music); www.refuserecords.prv.pl
- ★ **Revenge of The Nerds (Warsaw)** – anarchist-feminist zine distribution/editors; www.revengeofthenerds.bzzz.net
- ★ **Revolution Diya** – anarchist-feminist zine (Poznan)
- ★ **"Rozbrat"** – squat/ collective/ anarchist center/ anarchist library – ul. Pulaskiego, 21a, Poznan; P.O.Box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, fa-poznan@rozbrat.org, www.rozbrat.org, www.foto.rozbrat.org
- ★ **S.E.K.W. "Krzyk"** – squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul. Sienkiewicza 25; tel. +48 504878370).
- ★ **Sister to Sister** – anarchist feminist group/network around Poland, mail-order and anarchist dyke zine "Lechtaczka"; sistertosister@o2.pl
- ★ **"streFA"** – infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego 1c, tel. 504935357.
- ★ **"Szwejk"** – anti-military service and Poznanian Anti-war Coalition; ul. Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31, www.antywojenna.prv.pl, antywojenna@rozbrat.org
- ★ **"Tekno Collective"** – underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl
- ★ **Ugrupowanie Feministyczno Anarchistyczne (UFA)** – anarchy-feminist group in Poznan; ufa@robrat.org
- ★ **Valpurgi Night** – regular festival against homophobia and sexism in Warsaw, with workshops, conference, spoken word, concerts, films... www.myspace.com/nocwarpurgii;

www.nocwarpurgii.prv.pl

- ★ **Wiedźma (The Witch)** – anarchy feminist group; PO BOX 3321-500 BIALA PODLASKA; POLAND; witchgrrrl@poczta.onet.pl; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl
- ★ **"Ya Banda"** – anarchist samba band Milanówek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl

## ROMANIA

- ★ **Aactiv-ist Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome** – anarchist punk group aactivistcollective@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bumerang.ro
- ★ **A Nera** – ecological, social and (counter) cultural center; in the mountains Cheile Nerei; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
- ★ **Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action)** – spleenpatty@yahoo.com
- ★ **C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front)** – anarchist collective from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com
- ★ **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** – distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; g\_a\_rezistent@yahoo.com www.gluganeagra.go.ro
- ★ **Info-Propaganda** – anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatera@yahoo.com
- ★ **Miscarea Underground Timisoara** – (Underground Movement Timisoara); www.ugtm.go.ro
- ★ **URA** – anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.ht ml
- ★ **Love Kills** – woman anarchopunk zine / Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatera@yahoo.com
- ★ **"Revolta !"** – bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
- ★ **"Revolutionshop"** – anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com
- ★ **Subteran Collective** – anarchist-activists collective in the city of Iasi; subteran\_iasi@yahoo.com
- ★ **www.proiectns.org** – grassroots activist site
- ★ **www.miscareapunk.go.ro** – site about punk (and not only) in Romania

## RUSSIA

- ★ **ABC-Moscow** – spt2003@email.com; P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)
- ★ **Alliance of Kazan Anarchists** – antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru
- ★ **Anarchist League of Kamchatka** – 4tankista@mail.ru
- ★ **Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia** – PO Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. anliteration@rambler.ru
- ★ **Anti-Fa Samara** – anti\_fa@mail.ru
- ★ **Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA)** – see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact adress
- ★ **"Epicenter Infoshop"** – Evgeni Fayzullin, PO Box 103, St. Petersburg, 190013 e-mail: epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru http://www.infoshop.spb.ru
- ★ **Food Not Bombs**
  - **Main Website:** http://foodnotbombs.net.ru
  - **Krolzhkiy** – fnbvlz@mail.ru
  - **Voronezh** – fnb-vrn@yandex.ru
  - **Irkutsk** – fnb-irk@yandex.ru
  - **Kirov** – punkauskirov@mail.ru
  - **Krasnodar** – fnb\_krsndr@mail.ru
  - **Moscow** – fnb-russia@yandex.ru
  - **Nizhni Novgorod** – fnbnnov@rambler.ru
  - **Novosibirsk** – x316x@mail.ru
  - **Perm** – fnbperm@mail.ru
  - **Rostov-na-Donu** – subbacultcha@mail.ru
  - **St. Petersburg** – epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru
  - **Tolyatti** – fnbtlit@mail.ru

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE



## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

★ **Free Trade Unions Confederation** - Tomsk; <http://kulac.narod.ru>

★ **Indymedia Russia** - (in Russian language) <http://russia.indymedia.org>; [indyru@nadir.org](mailto:indyru@nadir.org);

★ **indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru** (Moscow);

★ **indymedia\_piter@pochtamt.ru** (Petersburg);

★ **smeshno@riseup.net** (Kiev, Ukraine)

★ **IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation** - [www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS](http://www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS); [sidorovan@mail.ru](mailto:sidorovan@mail.ru)

★ **Jerry Rubin Club** - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; [jrc@nm.ru](mailto:jrc@nm.ru); <http://jarryclub.narod.ru>

★ **KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosyndicalists)** - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier; -Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; [comanar@mail.ru](mailto:comanar@mail.ru); <http://aitrus.narod.ru>

★ **"Megaphon"** - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; [megaphon@mail333.com](mailto:megaphon@mail333.com)

★ **Network of Working-place Resistance** - [cockney@rambler.ru](mailto:cockney@rambler.ru), <http://antijob.nm.ru>

★ **"Noviy Svet"** - anarchist newspaper; [newworld@mail.admiral.ru](mailto:newworld@mail.admiral.ru); <http://novsvet.narod.ru> (all issues since 1989).

★ **"Nozhi i Vilki"** - political punk/hardcore fanzine; [zilonis@newmail.ru](mailto:zilonis@newmail.ru)

★ **Old Skool Kids** - punk/hardcore label and distro; [oldschoolkids@yahoo.com](mailto:oldschoolkids@yahoo.com); <http://oskids.nm.ru>

★ **Petersburg Antiwar Committee** - see "Noviy Svet" contact address

★ **Petersburg League of Anarchists** - see "Noviy Svet" contact address

★ **Punk Revival** - network of politically and socially active punx from St. Petersburg <http://www.pv.mahost.org>

★ **Rainbow Keepers** - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:

- Nizhniy Novgorod - [klem@dront.ru](mailto:klem@dront.ru)
- Votkinsk - [votkinskrk@mail.ru](mailto:votkinskrk@mail.ru)
- Kasimov - [rk@rk.ryazan.ru](mailto:rk@rk.ryazan.ru) (this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)
- Perm - [puliark@rambler.ru](mailto:puliark@rambler.ru)
- Volgograd - [maasha@rambler.ru](mailto:maasha@rambler.ru)
- Ekaterinburg - [vty2@mail.ru](mailto:vty2@mail.ru), [dpn@etel.ru](mailto:dpn@etel.ru)
- Moscow - [rkrlz@seu.ru](mailto:rkrlz@seu.ru), [blatoba@mail.ru](mailto:blatoba@mail.ru)
- Samara - [duplo1@mail.ru](mailto:duplo1@mail.ru), [duplo@samtel.ru](mailto:duplo@samtel.ru)

<http://duplo.narod.ru>

- Rostov - [rkrostov@don.sitek.net](mailto:rkrostov@don.sitek.net)

★ **S.H. Sound System** - label & distro including political punk stuff; <http://svinokop.narod.ru>; [diyhc@yahoo.com](mailto:diyhc@yahoo.com)

★ **Siberian Confederation of Labour** - Omsk; <http://www.skt.org.ru>

★ **"Utopia"** - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; [utopia@mail333.com](mailto:utopia@mail333.com)

★ **"Victor Serge's Library"** - anarchist & communist library - City Library no.10, ulitsa Verkhnyaya Khokhlovka 39/47, metro "Marksistskaya" Telephone/fax: +7 095 278 8156. <http://www.sergelibrary.org/>

★ **"Volja"** - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); [obschtschina@pisem.net](mailto:obschtschina@pisem.net); <http://volja.nm.ru>

★ **"Zhest"** - anarcho-feminist magazine; [zhest@pisem.net](mailto:zhest@pisem.net)

★ **www.squatting.ru** - portal, dedicated to squatter movement!

★ **Contacts of Autonomous Action**  
Do not write names of the groups on the envelopes! Never republish parts of this contact list without this note! Contacts are from Russia, unless specified otherwise.

★ Federal site is <http://www.avtonom.org>

★ Collective members of Autonomous Action.

Name of the group is Autonomous Action - <name of city or region>, unless specified otherwise.

- Moscow - P. O. Box 13, 109028 Moscow Russia, [taoom@seu.ru](mailto:taoom@seu.ru)
- Far East (has members in Vladivostok and Nahodka) - [ad\\_primorye@front.ru](mailto:ad_primorye@front.ru)
- Ivanovo - P. O. Box 1842, 153000 Ivanovo Russia, [ad\\_ivanovo@front.ru](mailto:ad_ivanovo@front.ru)
- Irkutsk - P. O. Box 166, 664058 Irkutsk Russia, [kdown@rambler.ru](mailto:kdown@rambler.ru)
- Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists - [skakonig@mail.ru](mailto:skakonig@mail.ru)
- Kem (Republic of Karelia, Russia) - [katousha@onego.ru](mailto:katousha@onego.ru)
- Krasnodar - P. O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia
- Nizhni Novgorod, P. O. Box 25, 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia, [ad\\_nn@mail.ru](mailto:ad_nn@mail.ru)
- Ryazan - [137@mail.ru](mailto:137@mail.ru)
- Saratov - [koluchka@pochtamt.ru](mailto:koluchka@pochtamt.ru)
- Ufa - [ADUfa@mail.ru](mailto:ADUfa@mail.ru)
- Chelyabinsk - P. O. Box 18742, 454021 Chelyabinsk Russia, [naumov2@mail.ru](mailto:naumov2@mail.ru)
- Yerevan (Armenia) - [m\\_eduard@freenet.am](mailto:m_eduard@freenet.am)

★ **Contacts of individual members of Autonomous Action**

- Astrakhan - [podero@list.ru](mailto:podero@list.ru)
- Vsevolzhk (Leningrad Region, Russia) - [darkpunk@list.ru](mailto:darkpunk@list.ru)
- Kirov - [redskin@ptlan.com](mailto:redskin@ptlan.com)
- Perm - P. O. Box 3095, Perm Russia [adperm@rambler.ru](mailto:adperm@rambler.ru); [deadsun@rambler.ru](mailto:deadsun@rambler.ru)
- Tyumen - P. O. Box 4481, 625001 Tyumen Russia, [roustam\\_f@hotmail.com](mailto:roustam_f@hotmail.com)
- Yaroslavl - [ad-yaroslavl@mail.ru](mailto:ad-yaroslavl@mail.ru)

★ **Correspondents of Autonomous Action** (distributors of press of the organisation without a formal membership)

- Voronezh - [dingir@mail.ru](mailto:dingir@mail.ru), <http://anarhvm.narod.ru/ad>
- Izhevsk - [projectfreedom@mail.ru](mailto:projectfreedom@mail.ru); [timmad@udm.ru](mailto:timmad@udm.ru); [antiwar@udm.ru](mailto:antiwar@udm.ru)
- Yoshkar - Ola - [punk@zvenigovo.ru](mailto:punk@zvenigovo.ru)
- Kolomna (Moscow Region, Russia) - [matherfacker2017@mail.ru](mailto:matherfacker2017@mail.ru)
- Naberezhnye Chelny (Tatarstan, Russia) - [anarchist@chelny.com](mailto:anarchist@chelny.com)
- Ozersk (Chelyabinsk Region, Russia) - [padlik@bk.ru](mailto:padlik@bk.ru)
- Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614, 183050 Murmansk Russia.
- Saint Petersburg - [blackguard@mail.ru](mailto:blackguard@mail.ru)
- Minsk (Belarus) - [belarus@avtonom.org](mailto:belarus@avtonom.org); [www.belarus.avtonom.org](http://www.belarus.avtonom.org)
- Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno Oblast, Belarus
- Donetsk (Ukraine) - [redrash@mail.ru](mailto:redrash@mail.ru); [redskins@mail.ru](mailto:redskins@mail.ru)
- Sumy (Ukraine) - [ivangrob@mail.ru](mailto:ivangrob@mail.ru)

★ **Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:**

- <http://ad-direct.newmail.ru> - federal site maintained from Novorossisk
- <http://redskin.newmail.ru> - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk
- <http://antijob.nm.ru> - site against work, maintained from Moscow
- <http://anti-fa.da.ru> - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara
- <http://potok.hotmail.ru> - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk
- <http://www.ad-nn.narod.ru> - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists
- <http://www.poet5.narod.ru> - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod
- <http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro> - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in

the former Soviet Union

## SERBIA

★ **ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative** - [is@inicijativa.org](mailto:is@inicijativa.org) (international secretary); [www.inicijativa.org](http://www.inicijativa.org)

★ **Federation of Internationalist Anarchists** - [federacija@ml1.net](mailto:federacija@ml1.net)

★ **Subwar Collective** - Belgrade; [shavedwomen216@yahoo.com](mailto:shavedwomen216@yahoo.com)

★ [www.anarchy-serbia.tk](http://www.anarchy-serbia.tk) - anarcho site;

★ [www.afanovisad.tk](http://www.afanovisad.tk) - Antifa Novi Sad

★ [www.kontra-punkt.info](http://www.kontra-punkt.info) - anarchist information & discussion web-site

## SLOVAKIA

★ **AFA-Bratislava (Antifasisticka Akcia Bratislava)** - [bacity\\_afa@yahoo.com](mailto:bacity_afa@yahoo.com) <http://blava.antifa.net>

★ **AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia)** - [afa\\_sk1@hotmail.com](mailto:afa_sk1@hotmail.com)

★ **Cirny Kriz (CK, Black Cross)** - [ciernykriz@yahoo.com](mailto:ciernykriz@yahoo.com)

★ **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** - [slovensko@csaf.cz](mailto:slovensko@csaf.cz) {international contact}; regional contacts:

- ★ **CSAF Bratislava** - [bratislava@csaf.cz](mailto:bratislava@csaf.cz)
- ★ **CSAF B.Bystrica** - [bbystrica@csaf.cz](mailto:bbystrica@csaf.cz)
- ★ **CSAF Trencin** - [trencin@csaf.cz](mailto:trencin@csaf.cz)
- ★ **CSAF Vychod** - [csaf\\_sk\\_vychod@yahoo.com](mailto:csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com);
- ★ **Priama Akcia (Direct Action)** - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; [priamaakcia@yahoo.com](mailto:priamaakcia@yahoo.com)

## SLOVENIA

★ **A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija"** - [kultura\\_kontra@yahoo.com](mailto:kultura_kontra@yahoo.com)

★ **Akd Izbruh Kulturni Bazen** - autonomous culture centre in squated swimm-pool in Kranj; [www.akd-izbruh.tk](http://www.akd-izbruh.tk); [akd\\_izbruh@yahoo.com](mailto:akd_izbruh@yahoo.com)

★ **Anarhiv Resource Center** - Metelkova 6, SI - 1000 Ljubljana, tel. 00386-1-4340345, [anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org](mailto:anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org), [www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv](http://www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv)

★ **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - [saf.info@email.si](mailto:saf.info@email.si)

★ **Union of self-organised workers - SiSD/USW** - [is\\_usw@yahoo.com](mailto:is_usw@yahoo.com) Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

## UKRAINE

★ **Autonomous Action / Donetsk** - [redrash@mail.ru](mailto:redrash@mail.ru); [redskins@mail.ru](mailto:redskins@mail.ru)

★ **Infoshop** - infoshop in Kiev. <http://infoshop.zaraz.org>; [infoshop@gmail.com](mailto:infoshop@gmail.com)

★ **Food Not Booms** - Kiev - [die\\_young@riseup.net](mailto:die_young@riseup.net)

★ [www.zaraz.org](http://www.zaraz.org) - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives. Web-site of anarchist group in Kiev. [info@zaraz.org](mailto:info@zaraz.org)

## TURKEY

★ **Anarsist Bakis** - <http://go.to/anarsistbakis> - archive of anarchist texts

★ **ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent** - [abcankara@yahoo.com](mailto:abcankara@yahoo.com)

★ **"Imlasiz"** - [www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net](http://www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net) - anarchist magazine

★ **"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; [isimsiz\\_dergi@yahoo.com](mailto:isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com)

★ **KaosGL** - [www.kaosgl.com](http://www.kaosgl.com) - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine

★ **"Kara Kizil"** - <http://www.karakizil.tr.cx> - anarchocommunist group

★ <http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net> - anarchoprimitivists

★ <http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com> - zine from Ankara

★ <http://veganarsi.cjb.net> - anarchoprimitivist zine

★ [www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari](http://www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari) - anarchist publisher in Istanbul

★ [www.mecmu-a.org](http://www.mecmu-a.org) - magazine from Istanbul

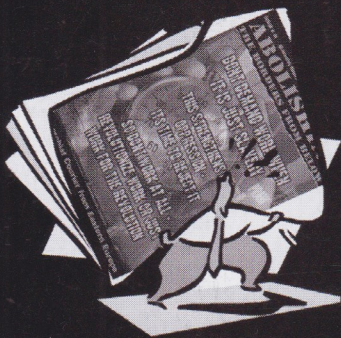
## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE



# EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - PROTEST



## SUBSCRIBE TO ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW



Are you living in a small village in the South Pole? Are you tired of waiting for our local distros to send you the new ABB? Or maybe you simply like to write us a little letter in order to ask us for the new number? Whatever reason you might have for it, your ABB crew started finally also to think about those needs.

We realize that in some regions there are still a lot of problems getting hold of copies of AbolishingBB, especially in the small villages and cities around EE, plus in all the regions of the globe where no regional distro. teams exist.

From the beginning, our distro. concept would rely on the regional distributors to cover the request of the newspaper. We have realized that this structure is not 100% working, therefore, believing strongly that everyone should/could have the possibility of access to the information and news contained in ABB, so we have decided to attempt to solve this problem by forming a special subscription team within our collective - all this to break the barriers and the borders around us and spread, as much as possible, the noise of the ongoing struggles in eastern Europe, hoping that the wind of anarchy, solidarity and mutual aid, coming out from these experiences, may blow to you.

**LOVE AND RAGE  
YOUR ABB CREW**

*For all subscription details, send an email to: [abolishingbb\\_subs@riseup.net](mailto:abolishingbb_subs@riseup.net)*

# ANALYSE - RESIST - CREATE NEW